

THE CARE AND EDUCATION OF PAUPER CHILDREN IN  
ENGLAND AND WALES  
1834 TO 1896.

a thesis presented to the University of London  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

1955.

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"I am not, however, about to inflict  
on the reader a history of the 'Poor Laws',  
but simply to ask him to go back with me to  
the year 1832, when the Whig government of  
that period resolved to amend those laws;  
and to follow me in any remarks I may feel  
it necessary to make arising out of a portion  
of that measure, with reference to the  
consequences resulting from it"

J. Brownlow. Thoughts and suggestions  
having reference to infanticide. 1864. pp.1-2.



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### Abstract.

This study reviews the measures taken by public authorities in England and Wales between 1834 and 1896 to provide for the care and education of children chargeable to the poor rate. The various types of institution in which these children were maintained are described. The development of what amounted to a system of state schools for a special class of child, predating the board schools of the 1870s by a generation, is noted; particular attention is paid to the district schools, some of which were amongst the most remarkable working-class schools of the nineteenth century. Problems surrounding the recruitment and training of teachers for pauper schools are investigated and a summary is given of the orthodox theory and practice of education applied to the nurture of the pauper children. The administrative hierarchy, including the inspectorate, is outlined and the clash between the educational and poor law authorities is described. Notice is also taken of the significant development of unorthodox methods which led to the pauper children being removed from institutions and settled into small homes or even individual families. Finally the means adopted for easing the pauper children into the working community are described together with the development of what is now called "after care". The period initiated by the introduction of the new poor law

in 1834 was, for the children, brought to an end in 1896 when a Departmental Committee condemned the institutional methods typical of the previous sixty years, and pressed upon the authorities the hitherto unorthodox non-institutional methods which have since become the standard means of providing for the deprived child.

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## Chapter I.

### Fauper Children.

"Poor little wretches in pinafores and poke bonnets and fustian, with heavy yellow faces and lagging steps... There was a taint in the air... I do not remember any one of them looking up as they passed. The very youngest of all was in a perambulator slowly pushed along at the head of this doomed and battered column."

A.I.Ritchie. Cornhill Magazine. 1870. p.372.

We have now moved far enough from the days of the poor law for the euphemistically-named services which replaced it to have gained in their turn something of the ill-fame which, in less than one hundred years, the revised poor law of 1834 acquired. Though its child is amongst us today, the much criticised law of 1834 has been put out of mind, and, like an ancestor of dubious morals, is no longer referred to in family conversation. Poor law jargon is now familiar only to those who explore the nineteenth century, though readers of the novels of the period will recognise such terms as "union", "board", "test", "settlement", "Less eligibility", and "Somerset House". To all classes of the time, however, the poor law was real; for the poor there was the grim and imposing presence of the union house, its door and porter's lodge marking the subsistence line, whilst for the rich there was the poor rate which awkwardly varied inversely with prosperity.

Many volumes have been devoted to poor law history and yet there remains to be written one supremely

Important volume -an appraisal of the significance of the new poor law in the development of modern Britain. Here was a new type of "ministry", a social service ministry, evolving new techniques for dealing with problems hitherto ignored by departments of state. Never before had such a widespread yet centralised (1) administrative network existed, and those vital elements in the British administrative pattern -inspection and audit- were first thoroughly worked out on a national basis here. The principle of local autonomy within a framework set by the central authority, now familiar to all, was exemplified by the poor law, as well as the fruitful cooperation of permanent professional bureaucrats with voluntary officials locally elected for a limited term of office. Let us not forget the generations of guardians trained in the technique of government by committee at the weekly board meetings. Would the local government acts of the latter part of the nineteenth century have been possible but for the realisation that there was a trained body of officials -professional and voluntary- capable of implementing them?

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1. So unique was it that it was used as a means of getting information on other subjects; Lord John Russell used the Poor Law Commissioners thus in 1838, (MS. MH 2/5 28th. Aug. 1838.) and the Royal Commission on Popular Education did likewise in 1858. (MS letter to Poor Law Board, 18th. Aug. 1858. MH 19/16.)

Far be it from the present writer to broach these significant questions. Instead a segment of poor law administration - that to do with children - is to be examined in some detail in order to show its significance in the wider fields of child welfare and education. The starting point of this study is dictated by the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act 1834 (4 & 5 William IV cap. 76.), and the terminal point, 1896, is marked by the publication of the report of a Departmental Committee appointed by the President of the Local Government Board in 1894, to inquire into the mode of caring for metropolitan pauper children. This introductory chapter deals first with the pauper children themselves and then outlines the various means adopted for their care and education, mentioning the classes of official through whom responsibility devolved.

The term "children" generally included boys and girls up to the age of sixteen.<sup>(1)</sup> The official workhouse classification at first placed boys of thirteen and above in the adult wards but, as E.C. Tufnell, an inspector, pointed out in 1838 (1), the guardians had the power to waive this rule and it became the invariable custom to retain young paupers in the school and children's quarters until they left or reached the age of sixteen. This "school-leaving age" of sixteen may well be of interest to modern reformers, but in fact very few sound boys and girls of sixteen would be found in a workhouse or

1. Though the policy of the Act was for children under 7 to stay with their mothers & Report of the Committee of the Poor Law 1839 p. 32. Schools took the children at about 2 years, and exceptionally as young as 9 months.

children's establishment. Strenuous efforts were made to apprentice or hire out children long before they reached the age of sixteen and only the mentally or physically disabled would be left to pass into the men's and women's wards on their sixteenth birthday.

"Children" (i.e. all up to the age of sixteen) formed a substantial part of the pauper army. Of all those receiving relief on the first July, 1860 in England and Wales, 35.7% came into this classification, (2) the total number of children represented being nearly 290,000. Between 1849, when reliable statistics began, and 1896 the corresponding figure varied from under 230,000 to over 400,000; the January figure was always higher than that for July for work -farming and building, for example- was more plentiful in the summer months. Figures for the total number of children being relieved conceal, however, an important distinction vital to their understanding. "Indoor" children (those being relieved by residence in a poor law institution or approved home) were distinguished from "outdoor" children, whose needs were met by small weekly doles of bread and money to the parents or guardians. In the period under review, the winter figure for indoor children never strayed far from 50,000 children, the summer figure being somewhat smaller. There was a steady increase as the century moved on and population increased, but the increasing figure represented a steadily decreasing percentage of the total

population. (3) Unfailingly winter brought a rise in the number of indoor paupers; the "inveterate abuse of summering children" (4) resulted from parents leaving the workhouse for the summer months when work was more plentiful and "sleeping rough" more pleasant, and spending the inclement winter months in the workhouse. Children accompanied their parents in these comings and goings and they were dubbed the "ins and outs", being regarded as a great impediment to the smooth running of an establishment; in some cases special departments were maintained to prevent this class of child from contaminating the main body of children. Some families had their entries and exits even more frequently - William Oakley and family took their discharge sixty times between March 1884 and May 1888. (5) The number of boys included in the indoor figure was always greater than the number of girls. This disparity reflected the ease with which places in domestic service were found for pauper girls; boys were more difficult to train and place, though Tufnell also believed that girls were more precocious and could therefore be placed on the labour market at an earlier age. (6).

In contrast to the steadiness of the figure for indoor child pauperism, the outdoor figure fluctuated most alarmingly. Taking the winter figure alone, there was an average of something over 300,000 from 1849 to 1871; the peak figure of 381,448 in 1863

coincided with the cotton famine, and came ten years after the lowest figure of under a quarter million. Following upon the officially inspired policy, promulgated in 1871, of extreme stringency in the award of outdoor relief, the figure decreased, rapidly at first, and thenceforth stayed well below the 200,000 mark. The summer figures followed the same pattern at a slightly lower level.

There was a steady core of indoor pauperism and a rapidly fluctuating mass of outdoor pauperism. The relative steadiness of the indoor figure does not, however, represent a static group of children; quite apart from the effect of age upon what might be called the "turnover" of a pauper school, there was, in most cases, an alarming succession of admissions and withdrawals throughout the school year. Only the orphan and deserted child could safely be counted as a "permanent" pupil. The steadiness of the figure for indoor pauperism is more probably related to the amount of workhouse accommodation available; whilst room remained in the "house", indoor relief was offered, but once the "house" was full, guardians had perforce to offer outdoor relief. Naturally those more permanently disabled in the struggle for subsistence would eventually find their way into the workhouse, whilst those in temporary difficulties would often be helped with outdoor relief. The offer of outdoor relief would depend on such factors as the amount of

room in the workhouse, the particular orders applicable in that union, the mood of the guardians, or even the presence of an inspector at the board meeting. The permanent social misfit (and his child) would, therefore, be most often found in the workhouse; the victim of economic depression or temporary distress might well be forced into the workhouse too, but once the segregated wards were full further rises in pauperism had to be taken up by means of outdoor relief. The graph for outdoor relief statistics serves, therefore, as a rough indication of economic distress.

Let it be said at once that this study is primarily concerned with the indoor pauper child. For long the guardians and the poor law department were content to regard their obligation to the outdoor pauper child as finished when the loaf of bread and the few coppers were handed over; little by little, as the chapter devoted to this subject will show, realisation grew that some thought should be given to the care and education of these children. A privately sponsored act of 1855 did, as we shall see, allow guardians, if they so desired, to pay the school pence of outdoor pauper children, but a directive measure did not come till 1873, by which time the battle for the education of these children had already been won by the Education Act of 1870.

What brought these thousands of children to the door of the workhouse or to the relieving officer's store?



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The poor law officials usually classified the children as being either "able-bodied" or "non able-bodied" according to the category awarded to the adult who accompanied them to the workhouse. The illegitimate infant of a prostitute would be classified as able-bodied whilst the fifteen year old son of a lame widow would be classed as non able-bodied. At intervals, however, the poor law department produced a more detailed analysis which gives a much clearer idea of the causes of child pauperism. Table I <sup>(1)</sup> gives the numbers of children maintained in the poor law institutions in 1849, 1850 and 1862, and classifies them according to the cause of their destitution. Roughly 3/7ths. came into the orphan or deserted class, whilst 2/7ths. approximately were illegitimate. Another 1/7th. were the children of widows or widowers and the remainder were present in the institutions for a variety of reasons. A child could, for example, be lodged in the workhouse for mis-demeanour, whilst waiting for a place at an industrial school, under 29 & 30 Victoria cap. 118 section 19. Again, the distress of a large family could be relieved by taking in one or more of the children.

The chapter devoted to outdoor children will reveal a pattern hardly dissimilar; in 1890, for example, of 185,914 children receiving this kind of relief, not less

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1. See p.9

Indoor Pauper Children (England and Wales) Classified by Cause of Distress. (7)

<u>Status of Children.</u>	<u>Date of Return.</u>		
	15.3.1849. (607 Unions.)	25.3.1850 (607 Unions.)	1.1.1862. (650 Unions.)
1. Illegitimate.....	13,762	12,694	13,743
2. Children of widows or widowers....	9,020	7,852	7,313
3. Orphans, or deserted by one or both parents.....	21,496	21,053	21,711
4. Father in prison or transported....	1,577	1,328	1,031
5. Parent mentally or physically disabled.....	1,833	1,537	1,914
6. Parents either in or out of workhouse, though able-bodied. (e.g. unemployed.).....	7,162	4,388	4,258
7. Others.....	1,473	1,337½	2,155
<b>TOTALS.</b>	<b>Boys 30,158 Girls 26,165</b>	<b>27,351 22,838</b>	<b>27,345 24,780</b>
	<b>56,323</b>	<b>50,189</b>	<b>52,125</b>

than 109,161 were dependent on widows, (8) and a further 21,851 were dependent on parents who were not able-bodied.

It is clear that child pauperism was a result of social distress not moral degradation, of misfortune rather than misdemeanour. Yet there were many who believed that pauperism was evidence of moral weakness and, fortified by arguments based on heredity and the influence of a work-house environment, believed pauper children to have a congenital propensity towards pauperism. Despite Mrs. Emmeline Way's plea for a distinction between "the pauperism which comes from vice or idleness, and that which is caused by the dispensation of Him...." (9), an inspector of work-house schools believed that "pauperism is most commonly the pauper's fault." (10) "Pauper children in towns," wrote another official, "are often the offspring of the most dissolute, diseased and wretched of the human race, and naturally inherit the consequences of their parents' debauchery." (11) Even a union chaplain, whilst conceding that poverty was no clear evidence of vice - "the visitations of Providence falling alike on all classes"- concluded that "unhappily, every man of observation must perceive that it is often connected with it." (12) Ideas such as these were so widely accepted, particularly in the early formative years of the new poor law, that it is not surprising that pauper children came to be treated as semi-delinquents; the Surveyor-General of Prisons, Lt.Col.Jebb, thought that there should be no more than a nominal distinction between

pauper schools and reformatories. (13) Despite the work of reformers (who were, for the most part, non-official persons), the penal atmosphere still hung around the poor law schools in 1896. The number of paupers then being brought up as normal working class children was still small but was soon to increase, for 1896 saw also the defeat of the principle which had led to pauper children being segregated into prison-like institutions. For most of the period reviewed in this study the poor law authorities were conducting an extended rear-guard action in defence of positions becoming increasingly untenable in the light of current informed beliefs. The official policy of massing the children into huge schools was first promulgated in the 1830s but was not officially condemned till 1896. Slowly at first, but ever more certainly after Mrs. Senior's report in 1873, realisation came that greater provision for individual needs than was possible in a large institution, must be made. At the century's end a few specialised institutions had been set up to cater for the particular requirements of individual children; small homes, boarding out and other devices had begun to be developed, offering children an up-bringing more in keeping with that of the normal child. At last it had come to be realised that, far from requiring a form of punitive education, the pauper, like any other child, needed care, security and affection.

Physical conditions for the children varied from place to place and from year to year. In the early days of

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the new poor law the assistant commissioners found much to criticise. In 1838, for example, Dr. Southwood Smith found 104 girls sleeping four and five to a bed in a room 88 feet by 16½ feet; the privies were "filthy" and there was not a bath in the whole house. (14) Constant pressure by the poor law department's medical advisers, the frequent outbreaks of fever, the work of Chadwick and the Board of Health, all led to a great improvement. Where children remained in the workhouse buildings conditions were sometimes below standard, but in the schools specially erected the highest standards of the time as regards cubic space, ventilation, warming and sanitation prevailed. In fact the extensive arrangements in large schools led to many complaints that "less eligibility" was being ignored.

Since diet was one of the ways in which life in the workhouse could be made "less eligible", diet was specified and all foods were weighed. A typical breakfast for children was 5 ounces of bread and 1½ <sup>pints</sup> ~~ounces~~ of gruel; dinner might be 5 ounces of bread and ½ a pound of potatoes or 1½ pints of soup, or 12 ounces of suet or rice pudding; supper would be 5 ounces of bread with 2 ounces of cheese or 1½ pints of broth if this delicacy had not appeared in the dinner menu. (15) Regrettably, cases occurred of even this meagre diet for growing children being reduced as a punishment. (16) Truly the question was difficult; children had to be kept strong and healthy and yet care had to be taken to prevent the development of "tastes which

cannot be gratified in after life." (17) Perhaps this principle was the cause of some guardians giving children skimmed milk where the diet stated "milk." (18) Not the slightest alteration to the dietary was permissible; one workhouse master refused to allow water at meals since, as he <sup>not</sup> claimed, it was shown on the approved dietary. (19) Meal-times in school were, of course, formal occasions and dinner at Hanwell, the Central London District School, was a sight worthy of a lithograph showing orderly lines of pinafores girls and uniformed boys passing from serving points to their set places, whilst the school brass band played at the end of the dining hall. (20) Less entertaining was the sight of the 600 boys at Kirkdale, the Liverpool school, where more than three quarters of them used their fingers for want of cutlery. (21)

Health presented the greatest problem of all. The stamina of new entrants was rarely high, and a dull routine combined with unvaried diet did little to raise it. Itch and ophthalmia were indigenous and new-comers rapidly spread infection to the healthy children. Larger schools were forced to build reception <sup>6</sup>wards where fresh arrivals were quarantined, and medical wings with isolation wards for the treatment of infected children. An oft-repeated story told of children rubbing their eyes with ophthalmic matter, to gain the benefits of sick-bay treatment or, alternatively, playing at medical inspections, rubbing each other's eyes

with rags, thus spreading the disease. (1) Ophthalmia remained the chief scourge of the pauper schools; rigorous pre-entry examination, strict segregation of new entrants, individual wash points, separate towels and frequent medical inspections helped to keep the disease in check but never eliminated it.

The problem presented by health questions led to a significant development of specialised child medical establishments. Some guardians had complete medical wings in their schools with, in some cases, trained nurses working under the direction of the school's medical officer. Particularly bad cases might be removed to a hospital, (22) or sent to small specialist medical establishments kept by (11) contractors for the reception of paupers. Guardians who were so minded could, with the permission of the central authorities, also call upon ordinary children's convalescent homes. (23) Two of the London schools maintained their own

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i. Dr. Bridges, the Board's medical officer, was, however, unable to obtain satisfactory proof of such occurrences. (3 L.G.B. 1873-4 appx. 15 p. 213.)

ii. When the contractors' establishments were rapidly closed in 1849 following the cholera epidemic at Drouet's school, an exception was made in the case of a few seaside establishments used by guardians for treating scrofulous paupers including Mr. Weekes' Home at Margate which catered solely for children. (2 P.L.B. 1849 p. 17; 3 P.L.B. 1850 p. 10-11; 4 P.L.B. 1851 p. 10.) For the eventual regularisation of the anomalous existence of these establishments, see 10 L.G.B. 1880-1881 p. xxxiii and xlviii; 9 L.G.B. 1879-1880 p. lix and appx. 31 p. 151-2.

convalescent homes; the North Surrey school had its "Wainright Home" and the South Metropolitan school had a branch establishment at Herne Bay. Measures such as these were particularly necessary in the metropolis where cramped living conditions and poor diet had produced a race of stunted beings; the superintendent at the North Surrey school could always tell the Croydon boys in his school for they were as tall and strong at 9 as the London boys were at 13. (24) Despite the excellence of its training, the "Exmouth" training ship could get very few boys accepted by the Royal Navy for, "although they are the pick of London workhouse boys, few come up to the standard in breadth of chest necessary to pass them into the Royal Navy." (25)

"Do you never meet when out walking those long lines of dejected-looking children from the Union?" asked an early social worker. "The thin print dresses, and washed and worn half-square turn-over handkerchief their only protection against the cold; the tiny ones, boys and girls, indiscriminately dressed in feminine costume, nothing fitting or looking tidy." (26) Granted the need for economy, guardians had to clothe the children in such a way as to avoid, "encouraging vanity and frivolity", though giving a certain amount of "pride of personal appearance, even in the humble and lowly"; the compromise usually arrived at was "uniformity of dress...with just enough of simple adornment to look well in the mass." (27) Different boards took different views and wide variations of style existed.



The Rotherhithe boys had coats like those of policemen and great fun was had by turning up collars and chalking numbers on them. (28) Only as the century wore on did reformers suggest that -particularly in the case of those attending public elementary schools- a uniform was not the most suitable dress for pauper children. Outer seemliness was achieved but it was not till the understanding eye of a woman, Mrs. Senior, had investigated the London pauper schools that it was realised that the neat aprons and well-brushed suits covered underclothes slept-in and unwashed for weeks at a time. Winter was hard for the children, the girls' short sleeves and the boys' lack of warmer underclothes, (29) being the cause of much ill-health. One inspector pointed out that these children were not "warm-blooded" (30) and Dr. Bridges had to deprecate the "so-called process of hardening by exposure to a capricious climate." (31) Commenting on the lack of sufficient protection from the cold another writer suggested that flannel shifts would be of more use to the girls than the stays with wooden busks (for stiffening down the front) which they were wearing. (32) Small wonder then that sensitive folk were distressed when they happened to meet the pauper children out walking; (1) the clumsy and uncomfortable boots distorting the feet, (33) the cropped hair of both boys and girls, (34) the fustian or corduroy (35) of the workhouse-made (36) clothes, and

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i. For a photograph of a whole school parading down the street, see Sixth Report of the Kensington and Chelsea District School, 1899.

the "unwholesome smell" (37) emanated by the garments, all went to make a "uniform" which, to one inspector, seemed "as if it had been specially designed to humble them, and impress on their minds, and on the minds of others that they are paupers." (38)

What then was the existence of a pauper child like? His parents fell upon bad times and he accompanied them -in his best clothes (39)- to the workhouse door. There he left them and was taken to the children's quarters where he was bathed, perhaps for the first time in his life. If the school was in the workhouse he remained in the same building as his parents but had little opportunity even to see them. Often the school would be elsewhere and thither, once the union medical officer had pronounced him free from disease, he would go. At school he slept in large dormitories, rose early, washed in troughs (with individual spouts to prevent the spread of infection), assembled for prayers and then again for breakfast. Schooling was partly intellectual and partly industrial; recreation was taken in a yard apart from a weekly walk "outside". Occasionally a visit was made, to the Crystal Palace perhaps, to a review in Hyde Park, or up the Mersey to see Blondin perform on the tightrope. Such a visit became a landmark and events were fixed in the child's mind in relation to that red-letter day. One day he did not look forward to was that of the school inspector's visit. His teachers' salaries depended on his performance and, if he was a pupil teacher,

his own future too. Small wonder that Mozley found the children he inspected "painfully shy" and speaking "in quite inaudible tones." (40) "When I was there," said one who was later to become a guardian, describing the South Metropolitan School, "all life seemed an eternal blank to me...Each day seemed more than I could bear. There seemed no looking forward to the time when you could go home; no looking forward to the time when you were going to be a man, or anything else to get out of it. There you were, bound up there, eating at mealtimes, passing the time between school time and mealtime again. My Sunday experiences I shall never never forget. It seemed to me from the time we had our dinner till our tea-time came, a whole lifetime." (41)

We turn now to describe the main types of institution in which pauper children were maintained. Under the old poor law, each parish was responsible for its own poor and solved the problem set by the presence of children in the parish poor-house as it thought fit. <sup>(1)</sup> The Poor Law Amendment Act widened the basic administrative unit from a parish to a union of several parishes. The Royal Commission of inquiry which preceded the act had favoured grouping all the children of the union into a separate building, but the Poor Law Commissioners preferred segregation within a single building to segregation by

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1. The first chapter of Oliver Twist describes one such solution.

buildings. The "workhouse school"<sup>(1)</sup> of the new poor law consisted of a school room and dormitories within a union workhouse building together with yards for girls and boys. "Most workhouse schools," wrote an inspector in 1861, "open into a court enclosed by a high wall, with a circular swing in the centre, which affords the children an invigorating and popular exercise. The schoolroom is generally 20 feet long by 10 broad and 10 or 11 feet high, imperfectly ventilated by means of openings under the ceiling and by perforated zinc tubes, which traverse the room from wall to wall. The windows are generally small and square and if they should happen to look on any of the adult yards, are darkened by whitewashing the glass. During the dark winter days the instruction of the children is much hindered by want of light, while their health and spirits are affected by the closeness occasioned by the lowness of the room. (42)

To this type of school objection was taken both by poor law officials and others. It was said that children could never be properly brought up as self-reliant individuals whilst there were adult paupers under the same roof; whitewash alone could not save young minds from contamination. To meet this difficulty some unions

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1. This term was often used to cover all types of pauper schools, including the type described here. Where possible in this study, "pauper school" has been used for the general term covering all types of school, and "workhouse school" for the specific type of school built in close association with a workhouse.

developed "detached workhouse schools" which were separate buildings entirely devoted to the needs of the children yet remaining within the workhouse compound. Others claimed that even this did not prevent contamination since pauper servants would be used in the school and there would be frequent communication between parents on the adult side and children in the school.

A more fundamental objection was raised to both types of workhouse school when it was suggested that any properly run union should not have resident in the union workhouse a sufficient number of children to organise a school of reasonable size. The solution to this difficulty -and to several others- was the "district school". Several unions formed a school district and erected a school at a convenient place where all the children of the district were boarded and educated, the cost being shared by the constituent unions. District schools tended to be large and expensive though some of them were perhaps among the most remarkable schools in the country. Few unions could be persuaded to form districts, however, and at the end of the century the few existing district schools were condemned as being too large and inhuman.

Some larger unions (or incorporated parishes governed by local acts of parliament) had discovered a happy medium by erecting a "separate school" at some distance from the workhouse to care for the children of that union or parish only. These schools had the advantages of

complete separation from the workhouse and yet lacked the administrative complexity of a district school. Only populous unions had sufficient children, however, to make the erection of a separate school economically possible. In many ways the arrangements within a separate school were similar to those in a district school and for purposes of controversy -of which there was plenty- they were classed together.<sup>(1)</sup>

A new development came in the 1860s when voluntary bodies began to provide schools for pauper children which guardians could use if they were accepted as "certified schools" by the central authority. Naturally religious bodies took advantage of this development, but there was also a significant movement by non-denominational groups of philanthropic workers to provide "homes" where small groups of children could be brought up in a "family" atmosphere.

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1. They were often jointly called "barrack schools" by their detractors, and the Webbs (English Poor Law History II 1 p.283 n.1) accept without comment the claim of Ernest Hart before the Departmental Committee on 7th. Nov. 1894, that he had invented the term a few months before. (See Q. 15. p.2) The word was used with the same connotation, however, in 1888 (S.C. LORDS on Poor Relief p.431), in 1871 (1 L.G.B. 1871-2 appx. 31 p.232) and in 1862 (S.C. on Poor Relief 2nd. Report p.106.) The speaker who used the term in 1862, also used it in 1861, seeming to indicate that it was in general currency. "Mr. Lyall: Do you approve of these large schools...on the barrack system, as it is called...?" (S.C. on Poor Relief, 1861 2nd. Report p.81.)

Various other alternatives were proposed and will be examined in the pages which follow. Most notable of all, perhaps, was the "boarding out" movement which sought to take children away from the poor law institutions and place them with foster parents. Variations were supplied by "cottage home"<sup>(1)</sup> systems where guardians set a man and his wife into a specially built or adapted house and placed with them a large "family" of pauper children. "Scattered Cottage Homes" were a development whereby the homes were scattered throughout a town instead of being built in a row. Boarded out children and many of the cottage home children were educated in the ordinary elementary schools of the country, unlike the institutionalised children who had their own pauper school till, late in the century, the value of educating pauper children with their non-pauper contemporaries was recognised.

In 1834 many a pauper "school" consisted of a pauper inmate "minding" the children in return for some trifling privilege. The Poor Law Commissioners' efforts to improve standards had no substantial effect till 1847 when a parliamentary grant in aid of the salaries of teachers in pauper schools was first made. Service in pauper schools was, however, generally more arduous, and less well-paid than teaching elsewhere, and the leakage of good teachers to non-pauper schools became a burst in 1870 with the passing

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i. A distinction must be made as some writers used this term in referring to the boarding out system. In this study the two terms are used exclusively.

of the Education Act. Finding suitable teachers was always a problem and two notable attempts were made by James Phillips Kay to meet it. The first, Battersea Training School, has been well chronicled elsewhere and will not be described in detail here. The second, Kneller Hall Training School was a most significant development which has not received the attention it deserves.

The teacher's immediate superior was the workhouse master in the case of a workhouse school and the superintendent or headmaster in the case of district or separate schools; his academic adviser was the inspector of workhouse schools who arrived with the 1847 grant, first as a Committee of Council official but, after 1863, as a Poor Law Board official. His employers were the board of guardians, or, in the case of a district school, the district's board of management; these boards were in turn controlled by statutes, and the orders of the Poor Law Commissioners till 1847, the Poor Law Board from 1847 to 1871, and thereafter the Local Government Board.

The treatment of children varied greatly despite the intended standardisation. A many-linked chain such as that described above cannot but have produced great variations depending on the idiosyncracies of particular officials. Add to this local and regional differences in the 600 odd unions covering England and Wales and we can begin to see that generalisations are difficult indeed. Furthermore the



whole enterprise was conducted in the atmosphere of resentment created by popular resistance to the new poor law. "Woe to gluttons, drunkards, liars, oppressors, misers, hypocrites," wrote an anonymous correspondent to the Commissioners; <sup>(i)</sup> "Drink deep in the cup of mercy," wrote another, <sup>(ii)</sup> "or by the powers above I will bring intense sorrow on your ungodly heads." Religion and the new poor law were incompatible, wrote yet another; "Somerset House and the cathedrals cannot exist...contemporary." (43) Even the novel-reading public had its quota of poor law references; Dickens' Oliver Twist (~~1838~~ <sup>(iii)</sup> 1839) described what, in fact, <sup>was</sup> the old poor law system, but he was followed by Mrs. Trollope (44) and Mrs. Gaskell (45), some of whose remarks were aimed at the new law. The iniquity of the poor law was always available as a subject for those seeking a hobby horse, <sup>(iv)</sup> and the captious

- i. He scribbled on the back of his letter, "I am come to send fire on the earth." MS. letter Feb. 3rd. 1838  
MH 25/I.
- ii. He claimed collateral descent from the Protector and signed himself "Henry Oliver Cromwell." MS letter Feb. 4th. 1839. MH 25/I.
- iii. As a reporter Dickens took down the debate in the Commons which preceded the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act.
- iv. Tufnell to Lefevre: "I am told that Lord Stanhope intends to cease agitating about the poor law, being just now deeply enamoured of electricity."  
MS letter 8th. Jan. 1838. MH 32/70.

(1)  
 voice of the Times could always be relied upon for material. Small wonder then that those who were trying to construct an educational system for the children trapped in the framework of such a widely detested law found their actions misrepresented. "I do not approve of feeding the paupers on baby pies," wrote Tufnell to the Commissioners, (11)  
 "or of manuring the fields with dead bodies."

Nagging critics made the authorities unwilling to broach controversial questions and were responsible for the apparent lethargy displayed for long periods in dealing with pauper education. Even friends of the poor law impeded educational progress by pleading the irrefutable principle of "less eligibility," for when the care and education of non-pauper children was at such a low standard it was scarcely possible to place pauper children in a less eligible condition. Yet constantly the canting reiteration of this phrase put back measures for the benefit of pauper children. "Give not to the ungodly; hold back thy bread...lest he

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1. which John Stuart Mill regarded as "the meanest, most malicious and most hypocritical among our very low newspaper[s]." M.St.J.Packe Life of J.S.Mill 1954 quoting H.S.R.Elliott (Ed.) Letters of J.S.Mill 1910 vol.I p.135.
  11. MS letter 10th.Jan. 1839 MH 32/70. An even more gruesome version of this calumny occurred in a popular ballad of the period The Workhouse Boy 1837, written and dedicated to the Poor Law Commissioners. There is the usual tale of the children being boiled for food and the climax runs:-  
 "And vot do you think in the copper was found !  
 "A little boy's coat and a small tooth-comb !  
CHORUS. Oh ! The poor workhouse boy ! "  
 (B.M. H 1251/23.)  
 An alternative chap-book version appeared later.  
 (B.M. 11621b 17/23)

overmaster thee thereby", quoted one who would have  
 (1)  
 abolished all poor law aid altogether. This attitude  
 inspired the "less eligibility" group which was determined  
 that no pauper child would receive a benefit denied to  
 any of his non-dependent fellows.

This then was the complex at the centre of which  
 stood the pauper child in his fustian suit unaware of the  
 debate generated by his dependence on the public purse.  
 The Be~~l~~thamites believed that proper organisation would lead  
 to his extinction, at any rate as a public charge; whilst  
 others preferred the cold comfort offered by Deuteronomy 15  
 (ii)  
 v.II. But the record of the Victorians in this, as in  
 so many respects, was, on the whole a good one. "I should  
 like to give something good to the little grey workhouse  
 boys," said Armine, "I should so hate always walking out  
 (iii)  
 along a straight road as they do." For most pauper  
 children the road was no less straight at the end of the  
 century than it had been seventy years before, but much  
 "good" had been done in the meantime to make their path  
 along that road less arduous.

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1. Ecclesiasticus xii v.5. quoted on title page of Evils of England by a London Physician, 1848.

ii. "For the poor shall never cease out of the land."

iii. Magnum Bonum (1882 edn. p.201) Charlotte M. Yonge.

Chapter 2.The Workhouse School.

"The workhouse should never be more than a temporary asylum for children."

W.E.Hickson to Poor Law Commissioners, August 13th. 1836. (MH 10/7)

"It was assumed too hastily many years ago that children could not be trained and educated satisfactorily in a fairly arranged workhouse. It has now been clearly proved that they not only can be but are so educated in very many instances."

T.B.Browne. MS report for 1865. Jan. 1866. (MH 32/108.)

Most pauper children were, in the period under review, brought up in workhouse schools. Used in the limited sense of a school attached to a workhouse rather than in the broad sense in which it is synonymous with "pauper school", the term "workhouse school" still included a variety of institutions ranging from one room hovels in the darkest corner of a badly run poor house, to efficient and well-appointed boarding schools placed at a little distance from the parent workhouse, yet still within the workhouse compound. Whatever its type, however, a workhouse school did not need a separate domestic staff; the schoolmaster came under the direct control of the workhouse master and the children were in constant contact with officers and even paupers from the adult side. The alleged "contamination" of children by contact with adult pauperism was the main

criticism of these schools and led to the establishment of district and separate schools both of which, being built at a considerable distance from the union house, had their own staff, domestic as well as academic. The workhouse school was a much less ambitious undertaking, and was more usually found in smaller -often rural- unions where the number of paupers and the smallness of the poor-rate receipts did not permit elaborate building programmes. In its favour supporters pointed out that it was economical, had none of the administrative complexity of a district school, and, being on the spot, was more readily available than a district or separate school many miles away.

Under the old poor law each parish or incorporation maintained its own poor in the parish house; the children were not segregated and their education often depended upon the accomplishments of an adult pauper placed in charge of them. When Dr. Kay began to organise the new unions in Norfolk he was able to discover just how much had been accomplished under the old law; the children were <sup>n</sup>generally vermin-infested, he reported, and often covered with the itch. One of the Scots teachers he imported was astounded by their "brutish ignorance"; all they knew was " how to pull up twitch grass, and how to top and tail turnips...No child in the school knew his letters." (1) In the towns the situation was little better; a lunatic pauper taught the Greenwich boys, whilst the Woolwich boys had a drunkard. (2) The West London children were also under

paupers and had been "subjected to alternations of neglect and of capricious surveillance and restraint...with, for the most part, the very bad example of the adult paupers constantly before them." (3) Kay was not far from the mark when he characterised pauper children under the old law as being ignorant, demoralised and vicious. (4)

The inquiry Commissioners of 1832-1834 had never intended children to be brought up under the same roof as adult paupers. <sup>(1)</sup> But when the "pinch-pauper triumvirate" came to implement the new law, segregation within a single building rather than by separate buildings was preferred and the mixed general workhouse of the old poor law was thus perpetuated. (5) The children were boarded and educated, therefore, in a building which also acted as a lying-in ward for the prostitute, a casual ward for the vagrant, an asylum for the defective and a refuge for the destitute. The guardians and officials responsible for the smooth running of this many-sided institution can hardly be blamed if they had but little time to devote to the particular needs of the children herded into the schoolroom. Nevertheless now that the children from each of half a dozen parishes were concentrated into a single workhouse, the question of their education could no longer be ignored.

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1, "We recommended", Nassau Senior declared, "that in every union there should be a separate school; we said that the children who went to the workhouse were hardened if they were already vicious and became contaminated if they were innocent, and we recommended that in every union there should be a building for the children, and one for the able-bodied males, and another building for the able-bodied females, and another for the old; we supposed the use of four buildings in every union." S.C.(Poor) 1862. 3rd. Report. p.74.

The results of the first years' efforts were uneven for much depended upon the enthusiasm displayed by each particular board of guardians for the cause of education. Petworth may not have been atypical; in 1837 reading was taught there but there was no writing or arithmetic and the boys plaited straw whilst the girls mended the establishment's linen. (6) Elsewhere more was achieved, particularly in Norfolk and Suffolk where Dr. Kay, a keen educationist, was assistant commissioner. Yet even here the results, at first, were hardly spectacular. In December, 1837, Kay had all the children from 2 to 16 in the workhouses of his district tested in two of the basic skills with results which may be tabulated thus, the figures in brackets indicating those who fell in the 9 to 16 age group:-

<u>Table</u>			
<u>Reading.</u>			
	Cannot.	Imperfectly.	Satisfactorily.
Boys:	329 (62)	366 (217)	276 (206)
Girls:	263 (38)	393 (207)	203 (173)

Writing.

Boys:	609 (211)	194 (138)	128 (122)
Girls:	669 (262)	130 ( 97)	48 (47) (7)

It is noticeable that though more boys were unable to read, more could read well. There was an excessive number of older girls unable to write, and again more boys had become proficient, even allowing for the larger number of boys in the sample. The difference in performance between the two sexes is most probably the result of two factors which recur constantly -the inferiority of woman pauper school

teachers, and the excessive amount of time devoted by girls to carrying out the establishment's chores. The situation in the rest of the country could have been little better than that in the Eastern Counties; in fact it is almost certain that in most districts it was worse. Richard Hall the assistant commissioner for Berkshire and Oxfordshire found some extraordinary systems of classification in the schools of his area in 1838. "In some schools the children were classed according to their age, in others according to their size, in some according to their proficiency, in others according to the duration of their stay in the workhouse; I nowhere saw any scheme, nor could I discover, except in a very few instances, any settled arrangement for the employment of school hours." (8) In populous areas the evil of overcrowding was added to the evil of faulty education. When fever attacked the children in the Whitechapel workhouse, the Commissioners' medical inspector found girls sleeping four and five to a bed, and infants living and sleeping in a room they seldom left. (9)

By mid-1838 the Poor Law Commissioners could look on the results of their first three and a half years' rule and feel that as far as the care, maintenance and education of the children was concerned, the policy of keeping them in the workhouse had not produced any remarkable change. First it appeared that even where a real effort, such as Dr. Kay's, had been made to establish efficient schools in the union workhouses, the educational results were far from satisfactory;



secondly many of the union arrangements left much to be desired on hygienic grounds; and thirdly there were many unions with so few children that no satisfactory arrangements for their education could be made.<sup>(1)</sup> This was in fact the view taken by a Select Committee investigating the administration of the poor law in 1838. The committee accepted Kay's plea for a further consolidation of poor law areas and the formation of what eventually came to be called "school districts," which would outmode the workhouse school. The Poor Law Commissioners themselves very soon publicly acknowledged their preference for the school district but despite this official support and that of the Poor Law Board and its successor the Local Government Board, the workhouse school continued for long to be the most commonly used means for the education and maintenance of the child pauper population.

The long debate between supporters of the district and those of the workhouse school began, therefore, in 1838. Edward Carleton Tufnell, one of the chief supporters of the district school was an outstanding critic of the workhouse school. No matter how thoroughly segregated they were, pauper children brought up near adult paupers would, he believed, become "contaminated" with the disease of hereditary pauperism. Academically the workhouse school suffered, he claimed, because there were never enough children to permit classification into

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1. Church Stretton, Shropshire, had 7 children only in 1838 and these were taught to read by an 80 year old pauper; the matron taught sewing to the only girl.

4 P.L.C. 1838 appx. B5 p.168.

convenient teaching units, or to make the employment of a capable teacher economically possible (even supposing he were to put up with life in a poor law institution under the direction of a workhouse master). Similarly the numbers did not justify the employment of industrial trainers who could provide the pauper children with skills which, Tufnell believed, would lead to them being apprenticed to masters at an early age without the incentive of a premium. (10) Nevertheless after some ten years the first district school had still not been formed and it appeared that however defective, in the view of some authorities, the workhouse school might be, it was to be the source of education for most of the pauper children in England and Wales for some time to come. Clearly, when left to themselves, the guardians, with some exceptions, would do little to further the cause of education. Consequently the Committee of Council on Education took a hand by obtaining from the Treasury an annual grant to be used as an award to offset the cost of teachers' salaries. The grant brought an immediate improvement in the quality of teachers and consequently in the workhouse schools. The various conditions attached to the grant, including an inspectorate, made certain that this improvement was sustained. The grant was awarded to all types of pauper schools and played no small part in wedding many boards of guardians to the workhouse school idea; the school in the workhouse was convenient and now it could

be officered without any considerable expenditure from the poor rate.

The Poor Law Board, which replaced the Poor Law Commissioners in 1847, was soon able to remark upon improvements in workhouse schools notwithstanding its official approbation for the district schools, the first of which <sup>was</sup> ~~were~~ established in 1849; even the usual weakness of the workhouse school -the industrial training- was much improved, especially in connection with agriculture. (II) This "satisfactory improvement" continued; wash-houses and laundries for the girls, separate from those used by adult women, were mentioned, as also were cows and small dairies "with a view of training girls in this part of a female servant's duty -so essential among the agricultural classes." (12) The doubtiest support of the workhouse school came, however, from an inspector of schools, T.B.Browne. It is true that he was often prompted<sup>r</sup> to criticise the district school than to demonstrate the advantages of the workhouse school, but he became the constant apostle of producing the best possible from the existing system. He had begun as a firm supporter of the district school idea (the conditions of his appointment scarcely permitted otherwise) but in 1854 he "very materially" altered his view and remained henceforth a strong advocate of the workhouse school believing that "as long as educational destitution continues to be immense, as it plainly is,

it seems very important that workhouse schools should not be considered in a hopeless state and their defects incurable." (I3) "The question is soon disposed of," he wrote, " if it is assumed that irremediable defects are incident to workhouse schools, and that no defects are incident to district or industrial schools..." (I4) He agreed that numbers were too low in many workhouse schools but countered with the claim that the guardians ought also to receive as day pupils the children of those in receipt of outdoor relief. (I5)

When in 1858 a Royal Commission was appointed to investigate the state of popular education in England, there were, therefore, two schools of thought; the district school party had a great advantage in the fact that the commissioner responsible for the pauper education section of the report, was Nassau Senior, a member of the Poor Law Royal Commission of 1832-4 and a firm opponent of the school housed within a workhouse. Senior clearly intended the Royal Commission of 1858 to 1860 to reach conclusions on pauper education consonant with his views. He took the chair on the pauper education days and the chief witnesses on this question were Kay-Shuttleworth and Tufnell, the two chief promoters of the district school. T.B.Browne was not called and in all the quotations culled from the inspectors' reports of the last few years, which Senior put in as evidence, Browne was under-represented, none of his arguments in favour of the workhouse school being used.

The most that was done was to mention in the main report itself his support of these schools. (I6) The subject of workhouse schools was, however, raised elsewhere in the proceedings of the Royal Commission and here Senior did not have such control. Assistant commissioners were sent to survey selected areas and some of these inspected the workhouse schools. Frazer, Fletcher and Hedley all spoke in their favour and only Cumins agreed with the views that Senior was able to foist upon the Commission as a whole. "Of all the schools which I examined," wrote Hedley, "the workhouse schools seemed to me much the best." (I7) The Rev. J. Frazer agreed: "I ~~net~~ ought not to omit to notice the very satisfactory condition of many of the workhouse schools...The instruction given is not ambitious in its range, but thoroughly sound of its kind; the writing almost without exception good, and the reading of the girls in the Hereford workhouse the best for articulation and freedom from provincialisms that I heard in the county. It struck me that the condition of the workhouse schools very nearly approached the ideal of what elementary education in this country under our confessedly difficult social circumstances ought to be - perfectly unassuming and perfectly in keeping with what the child's future career is likely to be." (I8) Mr. Cumins did not agree with this estimate but vitiated his evidence by recounting how he asked some workhouse-bred children what "A man broke up his household" meant. A girl answered that the house

had been broken into by robbers; Cumins concluded that this demonstrated her familiarity with crime gained as a result of a workhouse education. Senior must have thought this incident significant too for he told it again in the general report which, as he later revealed, he wrote himself. (19)

It comes as no surprise, therefore, to find that the report of the Royal Commission ignored the evidence in favour of the workhouse schools and condemned them.

"Children cannot be educated in workhouses in a satisfactory manner, because the influences of workhouses are in themselves pernicious, and because proper teachers cannot be induced to take charge of the schools." (20) To succeed, workhouse schools required adequate separation of the children from the adults and of this "we entertain little hope." (21) The report then went on to discuss the district school as the recommended means of educating pauper children, and the workhouse school was ignored apart from its alleged deficiencies. The recommendations of the Commission were all concerned with the means of compelling the establishment of district and separate schools.

This one-sided handling of the evidence<sup>(i)</sup> intensified the efforts of the workhouse school party. Returns were called for in parliament in the hope of getting reliable statistics which might settle the argument as to the relative merits of the two systems. The most informative return -Mr. Henley's (22)- showed that 14.42% of the boys and

(i) For a fuller examination of the case against Senior see Appendix C.

25.96% of the girls who left workhouse schools were returned for misconduct or other causes. The corresponding figures for the district schools were 11.7% and 27.5%. There were objections on the grounds of inaccuracy but, as far as the public was concerned, this return was taken to mean that on the whole the workhouse school was as efficient as the much-lauded district school. Browne, of course, seized upon it and ten years later was still quoting it to good effect. (23)

Further support for the workhouse school came from a Commons Select Committee of 1861 to 1864 on poor relief, which sat under the chairmanship of C.P. Villiers, President of the Poor Law Board. Anxious to defend the status quo (which was largely a workhouse school system) this committee tried to refute the criticisms made by the Royal Commission. "Whatever may have been the state of education in the workhouses previously to 1847," ran the report, "there can be no doubt that since that period it has made remarkable progress." (24) All the witnesses, including those who opposed workhouse schools, had agreed that workhouse education was good scholastically, "probably too good" Senior commented. (25) The Select Committee went on to affirm that it could not agree with the statement of the Royal Commission that the educational value of the workhouse schools' work was brought to nothing by the contamination with adult paupers which ensued; there was no support for the contention that the children associated with adult paupers

or for the claim that a large proportion of children returned to the workhouse when they had been sent out. (26) "The evidence received by your committee," ran the summing up, "by no means established the conclusion that large district schools are more successful than well-managed workhouse schools." (27) The most that the committee would allow itself in its recommendations was that "the state of workhouse education is upon the whole satisfactory in its character and result" but that where possible, schools separated from the workhouse should be encouraged.\* (28)

Henceforth officials and others were more cautious before issuing general condemnations of the workhouse schools. Even Tufnell was now able to find a little of praise for some of them; in 1871 he reported a "vast improvement" in the management of the workhouses. This improvement was, however, almost entirely confined to the small country establishments where the guardians and benevolent ladies took an interest in the school. In London and the large towns it was "next to impossible, whatever may be the character of the master, to bring up the children properly under the same roof with the adult paupers." (29) A few years later - privately, it is true - he had to correct Chadwick's over-zealous condemnation of all workhouse schools; "Children from these small workhouses turn out better than ordinary village children," he wrote. (30)

The authorities had been thrown into the defence of



workhouse schools only because they felt bound to fight for the system most generally used by the guardians. The 60s saw various measures designed to make general district and separate schools and when, in 1869, boarding out was given a trial, the workhouse schools were sacrificed to this new device. as being Boarding out was, in the first instance, to be confined to the places where workhouse schools existed; "Imperfect classification, [in workhouse schools] incomplete separation from the adult inmates, the associations inseparable from the workhouse, and the circumstances that orphans who may be unfortunately thrown out of employment a few years after leaving the workhouse, invariably look upon it as their natural home where they have left their friends and acquaintances, the fluctuating terms for which the children are admitted, and the smaller competition for the posts of schoolmaster and schoolmistress in workhouse as compared with other school constitute difficulties of too formidable a character, both in social and educational respects to justify any preference for the system if any other practice should appear to offer reasonable chances of success." (31) Henceforth full encouragement was given to any scheme which removed the children, at least for their education, away from the workhouse. J.R.Mozley noted a steady increase in the number of children moved away from the workhouse, (32) and soon a union which had a workhouse school and nothing else was considered to be backward. Jenner-Fust reported in 1890

with satisfaction that the number of workhouse schools continues to decrease; "there are now few unions in this district where there is merely a workhouse school, unaccompanied by any plan for disposing of at least some of the children either by boarding out or in other ways, and the number of such unions diminishes annually. " (33)

The central authorities tried to overcome the difficulties caused by the smallness of some workhouse schools, by encouraging amalgamations. Children could (34) be sent to another union on contract and the combined roll would then produce a school of reasonable size; West Bromwich children were at one time sent to Burton on Trent, Clun sent its girls to Ludlow (35) and several surrounding unions used the Swinton school at Manchester. Though the authorities regarded the idea as a good second best to the district school, (36) it seems to have been far from popular. Sometimes the higher cost of maintenance in the nearby school was the drawback; "When you ask guardians to pay 6/- or 6/6 to a neighbouring union when they can maintain the children in their own union for 4/- or 5/- a week," one inspector reported, "you cannot prevail upon them to do it. " (37) Small workhouse schools still continued, therefore; Cou<sup>r</sup>tenay Boyle in 1878-9 reported an average roll of less than 20 in the schools of his district. (38) Even when the ever-increasing facility of transport made it convenient for the poor law's basic administrative unit to be increased, small use was made of

the provisions of the acts in 1876 and 1879 which made the entire amalgamation of unions possible.

Where guardians insisted upon keeping their children at the workhouse, efforts were made late in the century to persuade them to send them as day pupils to ordinary elementary schools. This system was not unknown before 1834 (39) but had been frowned on under the new poor law since it was believed that a pauper child needed a distinctive semi-reformatory education. Nevertheless the custom had, in places, survived the change in the law. The Windsor pauper children attended the National school next door to their workhouse and, despite their distinctive dress, mixed freely with the other children; the inspector considered their schooling to be superior to that received by most pauper children. (40) At Shiffnal, however, the National school refused to take the pauper children (41) since the guardians were not subscribers, and at Woolwich and Deptford the teachers all but ignored them. (42) There was at least one case of pauper children not being taught arithmetic since the guardians withheld the extra penny per week demanded for this valuable addition to the curriculum. (43) The Committee of Council (under Kay's influence) disapproved of the system (44) and though one of the elementary school inspectors disagreed, (45) the inspectorate followed the official lead. Symons found one pauper boy of eleven who, having being able to read and write when he entered a National school eighteen months

before, wrote from dictation :- "We weear chetched at the shop becos we nue noth of rectam." (46) i.e. We were cheated at the shop because we knew nothing of arithmetic. If the boy was in fact able to read and write with normal facility at 9½, the above bears witness to an alarming educational regression.

So far the idea was put forward in opposition to the advice proffered by both the poor law and educational authorities. Slowly, however, these bodies came to see that many of the evils of institutionalisation could be overcome if, for a few hours a day, the pauper child mixed with normal working-class children. The number of unions sending children out to school in 1861 was thirty; in 1874 it was 98; in 1883 it was 215, and in 1893 it had almost reached 400 or nearly two thirds of all the unions in England and Wales. This rapid increase reflected the ever-increasing number of schools available to the working class, the guardians' continuing preference for economical ways of fulfilling their obligations, and the enlightened views of those who realised that the best way of de-pauperising children was to educate them alongside their future work-mates.

The combined effect of the boarding out and sending out movements lessened the number of workhouse schools, and thus reduced the work of the workhouse school inspectorate. It may well be that this fact influenced the opposition they often showed towards both these innovations.

Wyndham Holgate pointed out that the board schools could not hold the pauper as well as the local children, once compulsory education arrived. The children, deprived of their workhouse school teacher, would have to be left with pauper attendants at week-ends. Furthermore the little or no religion taught in some board schools was hardly sufficient for pauper children. (47) These and many other objections, notably the absence of industrial training in public elementary schools, were raised; a guardian told his colleagues at a Poor Law Conference in 1877 that, "it did not work at all." (48) Nevertheless the scheme became ever more popular. The Local Government Board approved the plan in July, 1877; (49) Henley, the senior inspector, said that he would "be glad to see the day when every child of teachable age is removed from the workhouse altogether, not only as to its education, but as to its maintenance." He was able to assure the guardians that, in a test case, it had been shown that a grant-aided school could not refuse pauper children whose workhouse was within the parish. (50) The difficulties mentioned by Holgate remained and had to be overcome; the central authorities warned (51) that adequate arrangements for out of school supervision must be made; in some cases industrial trainers were employed to carry out these duties in addition to instructing the children in useful skills. The girls were able to do their needlework in school, but were unfortunately sometimes ~~ix~~ given the coarse workhouse

sewing to do. (52) A minor difficulty occurred in the metropolis with regard to the children -1,800 in 1896 (53)- kept back in workhouses for various reasons and not sent on to district or separate schools. Such children could not have their maintenance charged to the Metropolitan Common Poor Fund and when Poplar tried to send them to a board school, the school fees were not chargeable to the fund. (54) On the whole, however, as Byam Davies reported in 1882, the scheme was generally successful; the pauper children were welcomed as giving a good example of cleanliness, good order and punctuality. (55) Huddersfield dressed its children in outfits similar to those worn by non-pauper children, and each child carried his own school pence to school. (56) From official acquiescence the board moved to approbation of the plan; the increase in the <sup>m</sup>number of children being sent out to school was noted with satisfaction (57) and it was even suggested that Sunday schools should also be brought into the picture for "the board attach much importance to all children...mixing as far as circumstances will admit with other children." (58) Children sent to public elementary schools were not counted by the poor law authorities before the end of the century and there is no means of assessing the numbers of children so educated. Children in the workhouse schools were, of course, carefully registered for the purpose of settling the capitation grant to be added to the teacher's salary. The graph for the latter class of child steadily rises, apart

slight recessions in 1860 and 1866, up to 1869 when, in the half year ending with Lady Day, the peak average attendance of 37,738 was reached. <sup>(1)</sup> From this point a decline begins arrested only momentarily in 1880-1881, till in 1895, the corresponding figure becomes 16,595. This dramatic fall is not wholly to be explained by a fall in the total number of pauper children; clearly 1869 brought new elements into the situation -the boarding out movement and the School Board schools to which guardians began to send the pauper children. Boarded out children totalled some 6,000 in 1895, so the bulk of the loss from the workhouse schools must have been to the board schools for the figures for other types of pauper schools show no commensurate increase. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that when a count of pauper children attending public elementary schools was first taken early in the following century, it showed that 15,167 children were involved. (59) The trend continued and in 1907, out of 51,102 children then in poor law institutions, 17,785 were attending public elementary schools, (60) and only 565 were still being taught within the walls of a workhouse. (61)

The workhouse school had withstood competition from district and separate schools largely because it was more economical; it succumbed to boarding out and sending out because these methods were just as cheap. In 1877 boarded

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1. The figures are, more accurately, those for all pauper schools other than district schools (though excluding certified schools). The important class of separate schools are thus included in the figure but are numerically insignificant enough to let the total pass as the figure for workhouse schools only.

out children were being kept for an average of  $4\frac{1}{4}$  per week, those in workhouse schools were costing  $4\frac{1}{7}$ <sup>(1)</sup>, whilst district school children were costing  $9\frac{1}{5}$ . (62) Nevertheless throughout the period up to 1896 more children were domiciled in workhouses than elsewhere, and up to 1870 the great majority of these children were also educated in or near the workhouse. Increasingly after 1870, they were sent out to the local elementary schools for their education and, at the end of the period under review, we may estimate that as many went out as stayed within for their education.

The workhouse school had thus been rendered superfluous rather than condemned. Kay had, in the early days, sought to make pauper schools so efficient that the children of the independent working class would be attracted to them; curiously the roles had now been reversed and pauper children were seeking the benefits provided by a "silent social revolution," in the schools built for the general population. The pauper schools for which Kay had such great hopes were, however, not the workhouse but the district schools, and it is to these that we now turn.

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1. This figure includes the expensive separate schools, so the cost of keeping children in a workhouse school was certainly much lower than this.



Chapter 3.    The District School to 1864.

"I am going to try to make a union of schools near Lewes...Difficulties I know there will be, but these we must try and conquer."

MS. E.C.Tufnell to Lefevre. October, 1840. MH 32/70.

The passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act marked the end of the parish as the basic unit of poor law administration. The new "unions" ignored traditional boundaries, and some ancient parishes found themselves partly in one union and partly in another. The union was a much larger unit than the parish and we may see, perhaps, in this enlargement of the basic administrative unit, the application of a principle long recognised in the field of industry that the larger the area and extent of control, the more efficient and economical the undertaking. Industry also demonstrated that maximum output was achieved when labour was concentrated, and this principle was applied to education in the factory-like schools of Bell and Lancaster, where children were the raw material, monitors the mechanics, teachers the foremen and literacy the product. The district school idea represents the application of these same principles -increasing the size of the basic administrative unit and concentrating as far as possible the many operations involved- to the field of pauper education. Few of the poor law unions could provide sufficient children to fill a school large enough to be efficient, so the reformers extended the arguments

already used for justifying the union to meet the new situation. Their conclusion was that an even larger unit was necessary for certain purposes and that unions should unite for each specific purpose to establish a "district". Education of pauper children was a case in point and unions should unite, where appropriate, to form "school districts" in which one large district school would serve the needs of all the constituent unions.

Such an idea was not entirely original; Locke in 1697 suggested concentrating pauper children of several parishes into "working schools" where it would be cheaper to feed them, and where their labour could be used to pay for their keep. (1) Pitt's bill of 1796 envisaged a school of industry for each large parish or group of parishes, while Bentham's plan of 1798 (2) sought to concentrate all the paupers, including children, into "Panopticons" where their labour would provide a source of profit. In 1817 a Select Committee of the Commons (3) had recommended the "parochial or district schools" of voluntary societies, suggesting that their principle of combining education and industry, might well be extended to pauper schools. A further select committee reporting in 1838 <sup>ed</sup> quoting these remarks of the 1817 committee as early evidence of support for the by then fully fledged district school project. (4) This was reading too much into the words of the 1817 committee, which used the word "district" not in the precise sense of a poor law district school, but in the

general sense referring to schools established by voluntary charities, which catered for children from a wide area regardless of their parish settlement. Although this committee could not be said to have supported what in 1838 was understood by the term "district school", it certainly did approve of that type of education having a strong industrial bias which characterised both the district charity schools of 1817 and the district pauper schools being mooted in 1838. The Royal Commission of 1832-1834 favoured keeping all the children of each union in a separate building but the Poor Law Commissioners, from the first, (5) assumed that children would stay in the general union workhouse along with the adult paupers. Despite the trouble caused -particularly in the north- by the establishment of the unions, the principle of enlarging the administrative unit was still, however, far from being discredited. An article in the Edinburgh Review, for example in 1836 (6) gave figures demonstrating that the larger the area covered by a single poor law administrative unit the lower were the rates. In the same year W.E. Hickson, a noted educationist, urged the Poor Law Commissioners to move the children out of the workhouses and into model schools. (1) These ideas, better schools, with children drawn from a wider area, were the main elements in the district school scheme.

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1. Letter dated Aug. 13th. 1836 MH 10/7.

The main credit for applying these ideas to the special problem of pauper education must be given to the assistant poor law commissioner for Norfolk and Suffolk, Dr. Kay, who became more familiar later as Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth. Kay could manipulate figures<sup>(1)</sup> and drew examples from data provided by his district to demonstrate the greater economy and efficiency which would result from the unions combining to establish district -or, as he occasionally called them "county"-schools for the education of their pauper children. He first applied the district principle to the needs of his own area and in 1838 recommended the setting up of two "county or district schools of industry in each of the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk." (7) A year later he applied the plan to the needs of the whole country; "if 100 district schools for the training of pauper children were established in England and Wales, the 50,000 children who are now inmates of workhouses would be...better fitted ...for conflict with the perils and difficulties of a struggle for independence than anything which their present situation affords." (8)

The district school idea was still being vigorously supported some sixty years later, yet never was its case more ably put than in these early reports from the persuasive pen of Dr. Kay. Education had long been in the forefront of his mind (9) and by 1838 he had espoused the

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1. He was a founder member of the Manchester Statistical Society and contributed to the Journal of the Statistical Society of London.

cause of the district school. His report from Norwich(I0) was supplemented by two articles in the first volume of the Journal of the(Royal)Statistical Society, (II) the first of which appeared in May, 1838. Before a select committee of the Commons he developed the district school theme(I2), and argued so cogently that the committee, in its final report dated 7th. August, 1838, recommended (I3) that the Poor Law Commissioners should be given the power of establishing school districts. The Poor Law Commissioners themselves were also converted; on the 10th. July(I4) they ordered Kay to take over the metropolitan district with special reference to the education of pauper children,(I5) and on the 14th. of the same month (I6) they considered the draft of their fourth annual report including a favourable reference to "combining the children of several unions into one school." (I7) It is a tribute to the compelling logic of Kay's arguments that the spring and summer of that turbulent poor law year had sufficed for him to wed official opinion to the idea of the district school. He had been helped by another assistant commissioner, ~~Edw~~ Edward Carleton Tufnell, whose name was often coupled with his own in reference to district schools (I8) and <sup>who</sup> was to remain for some forty years the staunchest supporter of the large pauper school. Mr. W.E.Hickson of the West London Union also gave evidence to the commons select committee of 1838 and spoke in favour of district schools. (I9)

Kay was thus not alone in his advocacy, but his reports

left little to be said and we turn now to examine the arguments he produced. He believed that "education was... one of the most important means of eradicating the germs of pauperism from the rising generation", (20) and by "education" he meant an amalgam of industrial, moral and academic elements (21) transmitted by capable class teachers in properly classified schools. The union schools in Norfolk and Suffolk were much too small to allow a proper division into classes and to warrant the engagement of a capable teacher. In a district school, catering for the children of several unions, there would be proper classification, industrial training would be economically possible, and teachers' salaries could justifiably be set high enough to attract men and women of high quality. (22) Such a step would be economical; the saving on teachers' salaries for the two eastern counties would be £4,800 per annum. (23) The school would be built well away from any workhouse. The children would be "separated from the chance of a polluting association with the adult inmates; they would not be daily taught the lesson of dependence of which the whole apparatus is the symbol; the school management would be unencumbered with the obstructions that it now encounters from the interference of the workhouse routine." (24)

This outline gives some idea of the kind of institution Kay had in mind. Already, however, there were signs of an even wider interest in education which was to take him into the office of the newly-formed Committee of Council on

Education. He envisaged<sup>a</sup> the district school as becoming also the day school for the children of the independent poor living nearby. (25) Clearly he saw these large schools as intellectual power-houses pumping literacy into their localities. Their very excellence would force<sup>c</sup> other schools to raise their standards and if the "less eligibility" argument was quoted, surely the fault lay not in the high standards of the district schools but in the low standards of the schools for the children of the independent poor. Such issues were, however, as yet embryonic. So far Kay had obtained official support for the idea; now, based on the metropolis, he had to convert Members of Parliament, who could pass the necessary legislation, and guardians, who alone could put the idea into practice. To carry out this second stage of his campaign, Kay decided to create a school which would demonstrate his theories.

By what the Commissioners called "an accident of legislation," (26) an institution ideally suited for development as a district school, Aubin's farm school at Norwood, lay ready at hand. Parishes in the metropolis had evolved a system of "farming out" the pauper population to contractors;<sup>(1)</sup> these enterprising individuals herded the paupers into large establishments and made a profit out of the margin between the cost of maintenance and the amount allowed by the guardians. This contract system was

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1. The custom sprang from 9 George I cap.7. of 1723 which allowed the whole workhouse to be put out to contract.

particularly common in the case of children because Jonas Hanway's acts required all pauper children to be kept at least three miles from the cities of London and Westminster. Contractors' educational obligations varied according to the terms of their contract <sup>(1)</sup> with each individual union and they could not be expected to do anything more than the minimum required. Two children's establishments in particular, Drouet's at Tooting and Aubin's at Norwood, were used by many of the metropolitan unions. Kay had come into contact with Drouet as early as 1837 <sup>(11)</sup> but Aubin's school was to be his chosen instrument of reform and from the moment of his arrival in the metropolis (in the summer of 1838) he began to build it into a model school, whilst at the same time dissuading guardians from sending children

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i. That drawn between William Nicholls and the parish of Greenwich on the 25th. March, 1838 required him to provide at his own expense "a proper person as schoolmaster and a discreet female as schoolmistress...for teaching the children in the workhouse; and in case proper persons for that purpose can be found among the paupers, to pay them 1/6

each per week..." B.M. 578m 3/8. Papers relating to St. Giles and St. George Bloomsbury. The London County Council Record Room has contracts made with Aubin by St. Saviour's Southwark for the care of pauper children, dated 5th. Sept. 1827 and 3rd. March, 1830. "Plum pudding" was specified for Christmas, Easter and Whitsun.

ii. In August, 1837 he investigated a case of alleged cruelty at Drouet's Brixton establishment. MS. MH 33/4 Ind. 21613. Kay. 29th. Aug. 1837.



to Drouet's. (27) Kay was making the best of what he considered to be a bad arrangement; by their very nature, profit-making institutions were unsuitable for the experimental development of a new type of education. "...the defects apparently inseparable from contractors' establishments, are such as to render their extension in the highest degree impolitic...a right regulation of such houses can generally be secured only by an incessant and painful vigilance." (28) This he stated in his 1839 report on Norwood (29) and reiterated in the following year. (30) Nevertheless, Mr Aubin had been extremely cooperative and had "certainly earned a title to protection and encouragement" (31) though his school should not be enlarged. <sup>(1)</sup> So while persuading guardians not to send children to the unsatisfactory contractors' establishments, Kay urged them to increase the allowance made to Aubin to 4/6 per head per week. (32) Yet even this did not provide enough backing for the schemes Kay, with Aubin's agreement, sought to implement in the Norwood school. Early in 1839 <sup>(1)</sup> he was forwarding small bills to the Poor Law Commissioners and in June he gave an estimated annual cost of maintaining Norwood as a Normal school. (33) An approach to the Education department asking for Aubin's school to have a share in the parliamentary grant for education in recognit-

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i. In Dec. 1839 there were 1,093 children at Norwood.

MS. Return dated 26th. Dec. 1839. MH 25/I.

ii.e.g. for the visiting master who taught singing at Norwood and at Tooting "with a view to the more decorous performance of divine service." MS.MH 33/4 Ind.21613 Kay 2nd.Jan. 1839. Later the Commissioners said that they would pay the master only for his work at Norwood. MS.to Plumstead 9th. Nov. 1839. MH 25/I.

-ion of its development as a model school evoked an unfavourable response. (34) An approach on the political side brought success, however, and a promise was given by Lord John Russell which led to the award of a treasury grant for "certain expenses incurred in discharging salaries at Norwood." (35) The grant -£500 p.a. (36)-  
 (1)  
 was never fully taken up and continued till 1846 when the parliamentary grant in aid of the salaries of teachers in pauper schools rendered the special grant to  
 (11)  
 Norwood superfluous.

Kay had thus acquired a measure of control over an institution suitable for development as a model district school and had managed to get the financial support necessary. His reports frequently drew attention to the improvements wrought at Norwood and pointed out that such advances would be possible everywhere if the 100 district schools which the country needed were built. Most of the theoretical advantages were demonstrated in practice at Norwood. The large hall spaces were partitioned off with curtains to form classrooms and the "simultaneous" method of teaching was introduced. Pupil teachers made their appearance, among them the boy William Rush who had

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i. The amounts were:-

1840	£317-11-7 (P.P.(263) 1841.)
1841-2	£297-17-1 (P.P.(353) 1847-8.)
1842-3	£285- 0-0 "
1843-4	£495- 0-0 "
1844-5	£377-10-0 "
1845-6	£404-11-7 "
1846-7	£398-15-0 "

- ii. The Webbs (English Poor Law History II 1 p.262) mention that the grant stopped in 1846 when the Central London School District took over the school; this did not happen till 1849, and the text above gives the correct reason for the end of the special Norwood grant.

surprised Kay when he took over the workhouse school in Norfolk during the teacher's illness. (37) Pauper servants were eliminated so that the children were reared free from the "taint" of pauperism, and various sanitary improvements were carried out. The curriculum was broadened particularly on the industrial side; amongst the trades taught was that of seaman with the aid of a mast erected in the yard. Here was a blue-print for the district school; the "bold outline" had, however, to remain "rude and imperfect" whilst the school remained in the hands of a contractor. (38) For the proper establishment of district schools, legislation was required. Yet even acts of parliament could not produce the teachers trained in the new class methods and Battersea training school, founded by Kay and Tufnell, was started to supply this deficiency.

Several reports concerning district schools had already appeared in the annual volumes<sup>5</sup> issued by the Poor Law Commissioners, and a collection of these was officially published as Report to the Secretary of State <sup>for</sup> of the Home Department...on the Training of Pauper Children, 1841. (1)

All the assistant commissioners contributing to the volume, with the exception of Power, who was labouring in the unrewarding field of the north west where unions themselves, much less school districts, were hard to form, expressed

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1. referred to throughout this study as 1841 Reports. It was included in the Lords Parliamentary Papers as 1841 xxxiii but does not appear in the Commons run.

approval of the district school idea. The Commissioners' dedicatory epistle <sup>(1)</sup> makes the purpose of the volume clear by the firm support ~~expre~~ given to the district school. The complete case was here stated between two covers and the book became the standard text. For many years copies were issued from the office of the authorities and only in 1857 was the book out of print. (39)

The long expected "further assistance from the legislature" (40) seemed to have come at last when the Poor Bill presented by Sir James Graham in May 1842 included clauses permitting the establishment of school districts. The bill followed Kay's <sup>t</sup>outline very closely but this is not surprising since, as he revealed nearly twenty years later, he was responsible for the "preparation of measures to be laid before parliament". (41) Graham's bill became the subject of furious attacks and in June the Home Secretary decided to jettison the school clauses with some others, and the truncated bill became law. The school clauses were revived two years later and inserted in a further <sup>d</sup>amendment bill which, with the minimum of discussion, was placed upon the statute book. (42) This act (7&8Victoria cap.101) was sometimes called the District Schools Act.

Under the act the Commissioners could combine parishes

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1. The dedicatory epistle is dated January 21st. 1840 (p.111) but this is clearly a misprint for 1841 in view of evidence within the letter itself and the date on the spine of the book.

(1)  
 and unions to form school districts, which could then build schools to maintain and educate all the pauper children within the area. The maintenance of each child was to be paid by his union; but the establishment charges were to be shared by the district's constituent bodies according to the ratio of the annual poor law averages. Places not in the district and not over twenty miles away could send children to the school for a capita payment under a determinable contract. Recent experience of the objections which poor law reform had produced in the country led the legislature to make every allowance for the susceptibilities of local guardians. Safeguards were written in which tended to make the act inoperative. A parents' consent clause was inserted to obviate complaints on the score of alienating "natural sympathies" by undue separation of families. Parents could object to the removal of a child to the district school and the child would then have to remain in the union or parish workhouse. There were other and more serious restrictions, however; no part of any district was to be more than fifteen miles from any other part - thus only the most populous areas would have sufficient children in such a limited "catchment area" to provide the numbers required for the type of district

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1. It later transpired that whilst the Commissioners and their successors could compulsorily form a district, they could not force the managers of the district to do anything if the latter were unwilling to take the necessary measures. The Commissioners' powers were, therefore, somewhat nugatory. (Tufnell to S.C. on Criminal and Destitute Children. 1853. Q2,400-2,401. p.214.)

school envisaged by the educational reformers. Furthermore, any incorporated parish or union with a population over 20,000 could be brought into a school district only with the acquiescence of a two-thirds majority of the guardians. Such places would be the only ones where a concentration of children sufficient to establish a district school proper could be found. Finally there was a financial safeguard which undermined the whole scheme. Expenditure on the district was not to exceed one fifth of the average annual total expenditure for each union or parish. Where land values were high (i.e. in the populous areas, the only places where fully developed district schools were possible) this restriction made the establishment of a new school very difficult. In view of these restrictive conditions it is not surprising that the act had no immediate effect; guardians were unwilling, or, because of financial considerations, unable to form district schools. (43)

Four years after the original act, an amending act, the Poor Law (Schools) Act, 1848, (44) met some of the difficulties; the fifteen mile limit and the restriction on expenditure could both be inoperative if the major part of the guardians agreed prior to entering a combination. The problem now became one of touting guardians, though many would find it difficult to agree since their chances of re-election would often depend upon an economic dispensation of the union funds. The effect of this later act

is difficult to estimate because a new element was suddenly injected into the debate. A dreadful attack of cholera developed among the 1,400 children at Drouet's establishment at Tooting, <sup>(1)</sup> and between the 29th. December 1848 and 13th. January, 1849, 150 children perished. Despite the belief of one medical gentleman that the disease arose from what he called "atmospheric poison", there can be little doubt that the stagnant ditches surrounding the building, and such insanitary habits as using the night urinal tubs to carry the water with which the floors were washed, contributed much to the rapid spread of the disease. Drouet was indicted for manslaughter and though he was acquitted, The Times was justified in remarking that "there is something indescribably sickening about the report of this trial...the deaths of these 150 Tooting children will effectually break up the child farming system -for ever." (45) The realisation that thousands of metropolitan pauper children were being kept in un-regulated unregulated private establishments came as a shock to the general public. Dickens, ever sensitive towards pauper children, joined in the general outcry, <sup>(11)</sup> and an act (46)

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1. The Webbs (English Poor Law History II 1 p.263) mistakenly give the seat of this outbreak as Aubin's school at Norwood.
  11. "It was brutally conducted, vilely kept, preposterously inspected, dishonestly defended, a disgrace to a Christian community and a stain upon a civilised land." See articles in The Examiner 20th. Jan., 27th. Jan., and 21st. April, 1849. Reprinted pp.193-205 of Collected Papers (Nonesuch Edn.) vol.I. 1937.

was rushed through parliament giving the Poor Law Board more effectual control over such establishments. The authorities pressed the case for district schools upon all the metropolitan guardians, and schemes for possible districts covering most of the metropolis were drawn up.(47) The metropolitan guardians removed their children from Tooting as quickly as possible and within a few weeks the first school districts came into being. On 6th. March, 1849 (48) the Central London School District was formed, and immediately purchased Aubin's school at Norwood, appointing the former owner as superintendent. (49) On 12th. of the same month, the South Metropolitan School District was formed and on 5th. of the following month (50) the North Surrey School District was established and began building straight away. (51) Progress was made in the provinces as well; the Farnham and Hartley Wit<sup>N</sup>ney School District was formed on 19th. June, 1849 to be followed on 7th. July by the South East Shropshire School District (using the excellent school already established by the Bridgnorth Union at Quatt), and finally the Reading and Wokingham School District came into existence in November of the same year. (52)

A combination of new concessionary legislation and emotional reaction to a dreadful epidemic had thus produced six school districts. They were the only ones to be formed for nearly twenty years, yet they offered a good test of the general applicability of the plan. Three



were metropolitan and three were provincial, the former being large and urban, the latter small and rural. At last Kay-Shuttleworth (as he had now become) could see some result of the campaign he had begun over ten years before and at last there existed institutions which might well be developed as model schools setting new general educational standards for the whole country.

Of the six district schools formed in 1849 only the three London schools could be said to conform to the outline sketched by Kay-Shuttleworth. The rural district schools had well-developed agricultural sides but in practice were indistinguishable from well-run detached workhouse schools, and the argument for and against the district school idea turned upon the success of the three large London schools. The hope that larger schools were more economical was not fulfilled; the following table lists the schools in order of expenditure upon the maintenance and education of each child during the year 1865-6. The average attendance at the schools for the half-year

ending 1865 is also given:-

School.	Annual Cost per Child.			Average Attendance.
	£	s.	d.	
Central London.	29	18	5	863
South Metropolitan	17	18	2	952
North Surrey	16	9	8	718
Farnham & H.Wintney	12	16	3	136
Reading & Wokingham	12	8	1	138
South East Shropshire	13	15	5	154
AVERAGE	20	2	1	(53)

Undoubtedly the large schools created problems needing extra expenditure for their solution, which the smaller schools could ignore. Laundry, for example, could well be

tackled by the children themselves (under the guise of industrial training) in a small school, but the vast quantities of linen daily being soiled in an establishment of a thousand inmates required steam laundries and extra staff. Nevertheless as regards these particular urban schools, a more important factor was the question of high costs of land and services in the metropolitan area. Extra legislative was passed in order to enable the metropolitan districts to take advantage of the act but despite this the South Metropolitan School District,<sup>(1)</sup> formed in 1849, was still without a school in January, 1853, though the excellent 60 acre site at Sutton had been purchased some years before. (54) Bad luck continued to follow the school even when it had come into operation; one third of the building was destroyed by fire in 1856 and the managers had to send 200 children back to their union workhouses. (55)

(ii)

The Central London District was more fortunate since it took over Aubin's school at Norwood complete with the many improvements wrought there by Dr. Kay. Aubin was retained as superintendent and until it was overhauled finally by the South Metropolitan School in the mid-sixties, it remained the largest of the district schools, having an average attendance sometimes rising over 1,000 in the winter months. In 1857 the Norwood site and Aubin's

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i. consisting of Bermondsey Parish and the Camberwell, Rotherhithe, and Greenwich Unions with the Parish of St. Olave's.

ii. comprising the City of London, East London and West London Unions together with St. Saviour's Parish.

building was left and a fine new school was opened at Hanwell on 20th. October, 1857, (56) where the school remained for the rest of its existence. The North Surrey District <sup>(i)</sup> opened its school at Anerley in November 1850 (57) and had an inauspicious <sup>start</sup> for the first entry of children rioted in the first week and caused £100 of damage. (58) The rural schools were rather less spectacular in their arrangements; the Reading and Wokingham District <sup>(ii)</sup> used the old Wokingham workhouse at Wargrave as a school building. The children's farm of 10 acres yielded a profit in 1856-7 (allowing for the rent of the land, rates and taxes) of £182-15-0, (59) or rather more than £1 per inmate. The Farnham and Hartley Wintney District was composed of the two unions named in the title but later had the Alton Union added. (60) The managers began this school by purchasing a workhouse at Aldershot<sup>(t)</sup> belonging to the Farnham Union (61) but in 1855 the military required the building <sup>(iii)</sup> and the managers sold it for £6,790. (62) A new building <sup>(iv)</sup> at Crondall was obtained and the school continued there. (63) The South East Shropshire District was composed of the Bridgnorth, Cleobury Mortimer, Seisdon and Madely Unions but the Newport and Shiffnal Unions later associated themselves with the district (64) having previously

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i. The original district consisted of Croydon, Kingston, Lewisham, Richmond and the Wandsworth and Clapham Unions. St. Luke's Chelsea was added in March, 1850 and other parishes (e.g. St. Mary, Newington) sent children on contract.

ii. comprising the Reading and Wokingham Unions.

iii. It is now the District Pay Office. H.N. COLE *The Story of Aldershot 1851*

made use of the school by sending their <sup>children</sup> on contract. The school was in the old parish workhouse at Quatt. In 1845 the Bridgnorth Union had turned this building into an industrial school for pauper children, and in 1851 the newly formed school district took it over as a district school. In its early years it had the watchful care of Mr. Woolrych Whitmore as chairman.(65) It was fortunate too in having one of the most able masters in pauper schools, Mr. Garland, until he emigrated to New Zealand in 1859. (66)

Although these schools were the only ones to be brought into being before 1868 there was no lack of attempts to establish further district schools. A scheme for unions in Warwickshire came undone due to the unwillingness of the guardians to sign the agreement when it was drawn up; some feared that the "project was unsuited to rural areas," whilst others in the rural unions objected to being associated with urban unions. (67) A scheme for Newcastle was wrecked on the question of the chaplain; only one was allowed and the dissenters objected to the appointment of a Church of England clergyman. (68) In the Swansea area the guardians could not agree, there being a division of opinion between the ex-officio guardians (who were secure in their positions and were therefore free to experiment) and the elected guardians who had to account for their policies to the ratepayers at the hustings. Here too, therefore, (69) and at Doncaster (70) plans for district schools failed to mature.

This was a far cry from the hundred district schools which, in the vision of Dr. Kay, were to cover the country. Responsibility for failing to take advantage of the District Schools Act was divided between three sets of officials, the central authority, the inspectors and the guardians, and we turn now to examine briefly their attitude towards the district school idea. When, in 1849, the first school districts came into being, the Poor Law Commissioners had been replaced as the central directing authority by the Poor Law Board which carried on the policy of supporting district schools. Close reading of the annual reports of the Poor Law Board reveals, however, a subtle change of emphasis. At first there is a regular note regretting that no more districts had been formed, but in 1853 this note does not appear. Then the sub-heading "District Schools" in the body of the report was dropped in favour of the all-embracing "workhouse schools". Yet the Board had not been a passive onlooker; several measures were passed through parliament which helped to ease the path of those who sought to create school districts. The School Districts Act, 1850 (71) amended the 1844 act by ordering unions to contribute to the common charges of a district according to the averages of the last three years for each union instead of the last declared annual average, as this had proven to be unfair in certain cases. Difficulties in the metropolis caused by the high cost of land had impeded the building of the South Metropolitan school; the Poor Law Amendment Act

of 1850 (72) allowed metropolitan districts to charge future poor rates with the cost of building a school. An act of the following session (73) permitted constituent unions in the metropolis to spend up to one third (instead of one fifth as formerly) of their annual average expenditure upon the district school.

Still more legislation was demanded. Two things were needed, Tufnell told a select committee, if district schools were to be built - legislation empowering the Poor Law Board compulsorily to form such schools, and financial assistance with the site and the building. Later he also asked for legislation to remove the parental veto on sending children to district schools. (74) The committee (under the chairmanship of M.T. Baines, President of the Poor Law Board) was favourably impressed and recommended that unions wishing to form districts should be helped financially. (75) Almost immediately a test case was put to the Treasury. The Central London District School was considering leaving Aubin's building at Norwood and re-building on a new site. At the same time unions in Warwickshire were considering forming a school district. Both projects were held up by financial considerations and a request was made to the Treasury for a grant. Gladstone, the Chancellor, turned down the application, lest a precedent which could lead to considerable expenditure should be established. (76) Education of pauper children was, he argued, a local responsibility; parliament had already

helped by allowing local authorities to raise loans spread over a term of years and the only hope that could now be held out was that parliament should empower the Treasury to offer additional loans at a low rate of interest. This suggestion was not followed up and the Warwickshire <sup>scheme</sup> ~~perished~~, though the Central London District School, thanks to the extra money-raising powers of metropolitan school districts, was able to go ahead with its new school at Hanwell.

There is a sharp contrast between the vigour displayed by the Poor Law Commissioners in their support of the district school idea and the tacit approval afforded by the Poor Law Board. The district school scheme was one surrounded by controversy, which the Poor Law Board, conscious of the fate which notoriety had brought to its predecessor, sought to avoid. Add to this the status of a department lacking a voice at cabinet level and we may consider that the Poor Law Board's reticence was due less to lack of sympathy than to force of circumstance. Be that as it may, the Board's caution in this matter was to provide Nassau Senior with an impressive case when the Royal Commission on Popular Education came to examine the recent history of the district school idea.

The inspectors of workhouse schools were, from their appointment in 1847 until 1863, officials of the Committee of Council on Education. Their instructional letter - drawn up by Kay-Shuttleworth - left no room for them to disagree on the district school question, for it asked for

reports on possible school districts (77) which soon began to arrive (78). The early reports of all five inspectors, Tufnell, Ruddock, Browne, Bowyer, and Symons (79) all stressed the great advantages of district schools. Such unanimity of opinion was not to continue however; Ruddock discovered that the scheme did not work in agricultural districts (80), and Symons noticed that large residential schools seemed to demoralise girls (81), though neither of these inspectors ever lost faith in the general utility of the district school. The same could not be said of T.B.Browne. Browne inspected the northern district which, though it had no district schools, did have two large separate schools at Liverpool and Manchester which exemplified the principles of a district school. As early as 1854 Browne mentioned that he had modified his views "very materially" (82). Whenever he visited Manchester or Liverpool he found children lingering uneducated in the workhouse whilst the schools, not many miles away, were far from full. Furthermore the other unions which sent their children to these schools on contract now educated less children than they did when each maintained a workhouse school on the premises. Clearly the same thing would happen a fortiori in the case of a district school. Browne's conclusion was that "the inevitable tendency of district schools is to lessen the number of children educated." (83) Henceforth he supported the workhouse school believing that "much may be accomplished with



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existing machinery." (84) In 1860 he summarised his position thus: "Pauper children can be well educated and effectually emancipated from pauperism in a workhouse school properly conducted...District schools...may succeed but imperfectly, and show no results commensurate with the large sums the building cost." (85) The Committee of Council was at pains to print alongside this report a letter making clear its dissociation from Browne's view.(86)

On the other wing of opinion lay Tufnell who never wavered in his support for the large school. Gradually he and the other inspectors realised that without further legislation there would be no increase in the number of district schools. They asked for compulsive legislation to replace the permissive powers of the 1844 act. It was left to a Poor Law Inspector to state this argument in its most cogent form, however. Sir John Walsham declared in 1856 that without compulsive powers in 1834 few unions would have been created; what the board now needed if school districts were to be brought into existence were "powers analagous"<sup>(1)</sup> to those granted to the Poor Law Commissioners in 1834. (87) A minor point which continued to receive much attention from the inspectors was the statutory right of the parent to withhold a child<sup>(11)</sup> from the district school. From the first Tufnell had

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i. Sir John Walsham was later to regret this remark See below p.79

ii. A manager of the South East Shropshire District School complained in 1862 that mothers who had been refused outdoor relief were preventing the guardians from sending their children to the school. The union in question was in great difficulty since the school in the workhouse had been closed when the district was formed. P.P.(510) 1862. p.92-3.

objected to this, maintaining that such rights were forfeited by the act of becoming dependent.(88) Now Bowyer raised the issue again, suggesting that some non-cooperative guardians might have put some of the parents up to refusing permission for their children to be moved away from the workhouse. (89)

The inspectorate's opinion was thus divided; Browne opposed the district school as vehemently as Tufnell defended it, whilst the others, poised between, tended towards Tufnell's view though agreeing to some extent with the criticisms made by Browne. Having failed to persuade the guardians to adopt the district school idea, the inspectors turned to the legislature -so far in vain- for something stronger than the permissive act of 1844. By 1855 the inspectors' parent body, the Committee of Council, had itself given up hope of extending the district school system; Kneller Hall, the training school which the Committee had built to train the masters needed in the many district schools which, it was hoped, would cover the country, was, at the end of the year, quietly closed.(90)

We come now to the lowest level of administrative responsibility -the guardians. In the case of the school district the guardians were, however, the decisive authority; a district was a combination which they might or might not enter into, according to their view of the question. The Poor Law Board could recommend that certain unions should combine to form a district, the inspector

could cajole obstructionist guardians or turn up at a board meeting with a well-marked copy of the 1841 Reports in his pocket, but action would be taken only when the board of guardians had agreed. It follows, therefore, that most of the responsibility for the failure to develop the district school system must be placed upon the shoulders of the guardians. For long they suffered obloquy on this account, but later, when opposition to large schools had become virtuous, one of their number was quick to claim credit for this resistance. "Had it not been for their passive but dogged resistance", wrote Sir William Chance in 1897, "the country would now have some hundred district ...schools to deal with, instead of merely ten." (91)

Some guardians, "less eligibility" prompting their cautious hesitance, may well have thought such efficient teaching establishments for pauper children out of place when the country's elementary schools were so backward. Ex-officio guardians were more often favourable, perhaps because, as even Tufnell conceded, "expenses are not diminished by these district schools" (92); elected guardians were unwilling to gain the reputation of being liberal with public funds. (93) Besides, experience showed that a school in the workhouse still had to be maintained to deal with the casual children. The parliamentary grant for teachers' salaries was paid regardless of the size of the school so there was no financial incentive for even the

smallest schools to combine. ~~(11)~~ Then there was an extraordinary possessiveness which guardians seemed to develop over "their" children, being loathe to commit them to the care of another body. The school district was controlled by managers elected from the boards of the constituent unions, so the representatives of any one union could be out-voted by those of the other unions. Naturally those guardians who were interested in education were elected to the board of management for the school district, so perhaps the more cautious guardians tended to be suspicious of bringing all the avante garde educationists together upon a single board, lest they commit the unions to excessive expenditure upon what *note* have come to be called educational "frills". For such reasons, many boards of guardians preferred to keep the maintenance of their own children under the direct control of the union board.

Guardians were not, therefore, attracted to the idea. The district school theory was based upon a national outlook with an eye to the future; the guardians were local officials acting strictly in terms of current needs. The exigencies of the poll, natural inclinations, economy and practical difficulties all forced them to take the shorter view. Small wonder, then, that a contemporary pamphleteer concluded "difficulty there may be, for some time to come, in persuading the guardians of the poor generally to cooperate in...(establishing)...in every locality a district union school." (~~104~~) (94)

The period reviewed in this chapter ends with the two inquiries -the Royal Commission on Popular Education of 1858 to 1860, and the Select Committee on Poor Relief of 1861 to 1864- which, as we saw in an early chapter, <sup>(1)</sup> took sides in the debate between supporters of district and workhouse schools. The first reaction of the Poor Law Board to the Royal Commission's request for inspection facilities was one of apprehension, for there was "ample scope for their pens in the W.[ork] H.[ouse] management." (95) Nevertheless some favourable comments on pauper education were made (96) though these, unfortunately, had little effect since the Royal Commission "relied almost completely ...on documentary evidence", supplied by Nassau Senior, a somewhat prejudiced authority, who himself wrote the pauper education section of the report. (97) The report, following Senior's own view, came uncompromisingly down on the side of the district and separate schools; there was a rider (which reflected Senior's belief that the Poor Law Board had been apathetic in the promotion of large schools) that legislation should lay upon the central authorities the duty of setting up such schools. (98)

The Select Committee under C.P.Villiers, President of the Poor Law Board, countered this aspersion by re-examining the question and exposing what some regarded as sharp practice on the part of Senior. The two parliamentary returns, Lygon's (99) and Henley's, (100) which sought to give some statistical substance to the debate between the

opposing parties served only to add to the controversy. Lygon's return was useless for the term "district school" had been misunderstood as meaning "a school in the district such as a national or private school." Henley's seemed to indicate that, judged by the number of children returned to the workhouse, there was little to choose between the two types.<sup>(1)</sup> Tufnell claimed that the return was false; large separate schools had been included in the workhouse figure and two particularly bad workhouse schools omitted.<sup>(101)</sup> The relatively high district school figure reflected the greater vigilance exercised over such children, he claimed. (102) Browne, of course, ignored such niceties (103), and Tufnell over ten years later was still trying to show that the return was "utterly worthless". (104) There was something to be said for his view as most district school children were placed out in highly urbanised areas where temptations were greater. Nevertheless many workhouse children too were employed in unsatisfactory situations; one child returned to the workhouse for "misconduct" had in fact been seduced by the son of the publican for whom she worked. (105)

The "documentary evidence" upon which Nassau Senior's case for the district school had been built up, consisted of cuttings from the reports of the Committee of Council Inspectors of Workhouse Schools. Now the Poor Law Board continued its defence against Senior's strictures by sending its own inspectors into the schools (106), and the reports

1. See p. 38 above.

sent in by Weale, Hawley, Walsham and Doyle (I07) were widely circulated. The Royal Commission's conclusions were rejected and Hawley declared that the Commissioners had "only sought for and obtained such evidence as would cast discredit on the workhouse system for the purpose of fostering a bantling of their own, namely the general establishment of district schools." (I08) Sir John Walsham was in the awkward position of having to explain away his "powers analagous"<sup>(1)</sup> report of I855 (I09), which had been quoted to good effect by the Royal Commission; both in his report and in his evidence to the select committee, (I10) Walsham made clear that he had been quoted without permission and, in any case, his view had now changed. Doyle's report of the 12th. April, 1862 (I11) was the most telling of all; his devastating attack upon Senior's methods, his personal distrust of the Committee of Council inspectors and his own conviction that the district school system was not compatible with a well-ordered poor law system, led him to produce a report which alone more than compensated for the victory which the district school party seemed to have gained from the Report of the Royal Commission.

The challenge of the Royal Commission had been met by the poor law authorities with a form riposte, using the select committee and the reports of its own inspectors. Whilst the arid debate continued little progress was made but once the rancour of the early 1860s had passed the  $\phi$

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1. See p. 73 above.

task of furthering the district school idea was again taken up and, nearly twenty years after the first foundations, a new group of schools came into existence. These will be described in the next chapter which follows the district school up to its condemnation in the last years of the century.



Chapter 4.      The District School, 1864-1896.

"Finally, after a longer experience in pauper education than has fallen to the lot of perhaps any other person, and a practical acquaintance with every other system yet devised for educating this lowly class, I come unhesitatingly to the conclusion that nothing can equal or even approach the success of the plan of uniting the children in large schools arranged on the district system."

(E.C.Tufnell. 3 L.G.B. 1873-4. appx. 17. p.261.)

District schools "are vast and costly institutions with a great array of officers, with elaborate material appliances of every kind, and giving to their pupils a superior order of intellectual instruction...but...there has been rising and gradually growing in strength another and a different view of the matter. It is alleged that imposing as are these great establishments to the eye of the occasional visitor, they are in the really vital and essential respects, gigantic failures; nay, more, that being founded on erroneous principles and working by mistaken methods, they are by the laws of human nature predestined to failure."

(John K.Ingram. Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland. Part xlviii Dec. 1875. p.455.)

The debate engendered by the report of the Royal Commission had thrown the Poor Law Board onto the defensive; since workhouse schools were the most common, the board had, whilst claiming credit for encouraging district  
(1)  
schools, perforce to defend the less spectacular way of educating children. Temporarily, therefore, the board

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1. When Villiers stressed the board's efforts on behalf of district schools, Nassau Senior scored a neat debating point by declaring that this only showed that the Poor Law Board agreed with the Royal Commission. (S.C. (Poor) 1862. 3rd. Report. p.74.)

appeared to be in favour of workhouse schools, but once the debate died down it was able to resume its efforts on behalf of district schools. The board itself was developing a firmer grasp; in 1859 it reached cabinet rank and eight years later became a permanent department of state. (1) In 1863, the inspectors of workhouse schools were brought under its direct control (2), a development which put a stop to the recommendations of the education inspectors being regarded as adverse criticisms by one department ~~on~~ on the work of another. Villiers, in his debate with Nassau Senior, had become identified with the workhouse school cause, and decorum demanded an interval before the board openly took up again the district school arguments. After his departure in June, 1866, the first report signed by his successor, Gathorne Hardy, mentioned the favourable reports on education "particularly of the district and separate schools, and also of many of the schools in the workhouses." (3)

The new ministry and its great Liberal successor were not content to offer encouragement only. New legislation smoothed the path both for the board itself and for those guardians anxious to follow up the district school idea. Clause 16 of the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1866, (29 & 30 Victoria cap. 113) removed the 20 mile limit which earlier acts (1) had set to the distance children from

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1. Clause 51 of 7 & 8 Victoria cap. 101. and clause 6 of 14 & 15 Victoria cap. 105.

outside a district could be sent on contract to a district school. This made it possible for the large schools to keep attendances high enough to justify their large scale arrangements. The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1867 (30 & 31 Victoria cap. 106) gave the Poor Law Board power to alter the constituents of a school district without the permission of the existing members, and an act of the following year (Poor Law Amendment Act, 1868, 31 & 32 Victoria cap. 122) gave the board power to settle the financial adjustments which such alterations made necessary. Clearly the board was strengthening its control over the school districts in readiness for their extension either by adding new unions or by dividing them. In the case of the metropolitan districts power was given to the board (Metropolitan Poor Amendment Act, 1869, 32 & 33 Victoria cap. 63) to dissolve the district if need be. To make the formation of districts easier the majority of guardians required to be favourable was, by the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1868, (31 & 32 Victoria cap. 122) reduced from two thirds to one half. The same act amended the basis for contributing to the common charges of the district to ease the burden on the poorer districts. By a former act (13 & 14 Victoria cap. 11) the basis had been the average annual expenditure of each constituent; now it was declared to be the total rateable value of the property within the union. <sup>(1)</sup> Expenditure on school

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1. In the special case of the metropolis the board itself would decide what the basis of contribution was to be.

districts had formerly been limited to one fifth of the total annual expenditure of each constituent of a district; we have already noted that, by an act of 1851 (14 & 15 Victoria cap. 105), this had been raised to one third for the metropolis, but now the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1872 (35 Victoria cap. 2) raised this proportion even higher for the metropolis to two thirds.

These numerous changes in the law, spread over the years 1866 to 1872, did much to smooth the path of new district schools. They were, however, only minor modifications to the system laid down by the 1844 act. One major modification was also instituted which took effect in the metropolis only. Whilst Villiers was still at the board certain measures, such as the Metropolitan Houseless Poor Act of 1864, had been introduced which treated the metropolis as a single administrative unit for specific purposes. Clearly there was a strong argument for uniformity, firstly because the indigent rapidly descended upon unions where treatment was lenient, and secondly certain poor law services tended to be duplicated unnecessarily within the area. A solution was found in the Metropolitan Poor Act of 1867 (30 & 31 Victoria cap. 6) which set up a Metropolitan Common Poor Fund to which all the unions and parishes contributed. Certain poor law services were then charged to this fund, amongst them being the cost of teaching and maintaining all the pauper children in the metropolis with the exception of those retained in

workhouses. The board warned the metropolitan unions that "no claim for repayment from the common poor fund can be allowed for the maintenance of children in workhouses." (4) This was indeed the death sentence for workhouse schools in the metropolitan area, as guardians could keep a child in such a school only at the price of paying for the whole of his keep and tuition, whereas children in other pauper schools were supported and educated by the common fund. To render its control even more complete, the Poor Law Board obtained, by the same act, the right to appoint up to one <sup>(1)</sup> third of the managers of metropolitan district schools. It was natural, therefore, that there was a sudden increase in the number of district schools, particularly in the metropolis, and we turn now to examine some of these new foundations.

Orders were soon issued for the formation of three new metropolitan school districts, whilst yet another was being contemplated. Paddington and Fulham Unions combined with the Parish of St. George, Hanover Square, to form the West London School District (5); the Parish of St. Margaret and St. John, Westminster combined with that of St. Mary Abbott, Kensington, to form the Kensington School District; and St. James' Clerkenwell combined with St. Luke's Middlesex to form the Finsbury School District. Meanwhile the Whitechapel, Hackney and Poplar Unions were

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1. The right was rarely used. North Surrey District School did not have any nominated managers till 1890. See Report of Managers...1890.

discussing arrangements prior to forming a district. (6)

All these districts did not, however, produce schools; the Kensington School District was dissolved, the Westminster parish having joined the Hanover Square parish to form the St. George's Union and becoming part of the West London School District, whilst the Kensington parish entered the North Surrey School District, one of the old-established districts. (7) The West London District had a happier tale to tell; having had the parish of St. Margaret and St. John, Westminster added to it, a "magnificent building" erected at West Ashford near Staines with 900 places, was ready for occupation on September 24th. 1872. (8) The Finsbury School District was also dissolved but the talks between the unions of Whitechapel, Hackney and Poplar found happy issue in the formation of the Forest Gate School District on the 25th. June, 1868. (9) The managers of this district were also responsible for a training ship, "Goliath", presented by the Admiralty for the sea training of pauper boys. This ship was moored in the Thames and the Forest Gate District, having two water-side unions, was asked to become responsible for it though boys from other unions or districts were also taken on contract.

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1. The formation of this particular district illustrates the effect of the new act in rationalising existing educational arrangements. Whitechapel had built a separate school at Forest Gate in 1854 to which the Poplar children were sent on contract, (Monnington and Lampard Our London Poor Law Schools p.36.) and also, in Feb. 1867, the Hackney children, also on contract. (P.P. (18) 1867 lx p.15) Now all these unions were combined into a district and the educational provision was placed upon a sound and equitable basis.

The training ship, a development permitted by a clause in the Metropolitan Poor Law Amendment Act 1869, marked the commencement of a long and successful tradition of sea-training for pauper boys. I

In the metropolis, therefore, two new district schools had their beginnings in the year 1868. Most metropolitan children were by now either in separate, district or certified schools and therefore eligible for maintenance by the common poor fund. In the country, however, there was no such incentive to desert the workhouse school and all the guardians' old complaints on the score of expense were still valid, as is shown by the attempt, lasting over several years, to establish a district school in Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire. This was a very large undertaking comprising the unions of Sleaford, Lincoln, Boston, Spalden, Grantham and Newark, a total area of 699,646 acres with a population of 190,994 in 1861. It was by far the largest district yet attempted, <sup>(1)</sup> and was regarded as a test of the applicability of the scheme to the whole of England; if a district school worked in this huge area with a widely distributed population as well as it appeared to do in the towns, there was no reason why it should not be used throughout the country. Slowly the required signatures were extracted from the guardians and when the last reluctant Lincoln guardians had agreed, the

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1. The South East Shropshire District, the next in size, had an area of 196,061 acres and a population of 70,496 in 1861. 20 P.L.B. 1867-8 appx. 29 p.154.

Poor Law Board issued an order forming the district in February, 1868. (I0) Within a short time, however, four of the six unions werē asking to have the district dissolved, (II) finding the expense of building a school to be rather more than they had anticipated. Then in December, 1868, the board was asked for modification of the specification in order to reduce the cost of the proposed school. The reduced estimate of £21-6-2 per place, "a burden that would have been inappreciable to the poorest rate-payer", (I2) was still too high for three of the unions which were in favour of quitting the district and abandoning the whole scheme. One year after the formation of the district all that could be reported was that the site for the school had been chosen, (I3) this, however, marking no great achievement since the land had been presented by the Duke of Rutland. (I4) The scheme perished and with it went all hope of spreading the plan in rural areas where guardians were not used to dealing with hundreds of children, estimated<sup>ing</sup> for thousands of pounds, and all the trappings of the district school with its infirmaries, probation wards, resident doctors and steam laundries.

Progress was, however, made elsewhere outside the metropolis in an industrial area resembling in many respects the densely-populated capital. In this case the original plan had been for a school district to be formed out of the Walsall, West Bromwich, Litchfield and Lenkridge<sup>p</sup> Unions. Difficulty arose over persuading the guardians of the last



two unions, the least industrial of the four unions, and consequently the Walsall and West Bromwich Unions went ahead on their own and established a school district. The school, opened in 1872, was large enough to accommodate the children of the two hesitant unions and other nearby unions should they wish. The building became very expensive and the four hundred places provided worked out at the rate of £39-15-0 per place.<sup>(1)</sup> It was, however, excellently situated, occupying a site of 25 acres on high ground well out of sight of the Black country. (15) Even when the school was built the neighbouring unions refused to / cooperate; in its first years the school was never more than half full and if the cost of erection had been worked out for actual attendance instead of capacity it would have been even more extravagant. No doubt the local unions felt that they had nothing to gain from an association of urban unions which had already shown a tendency towards extravagance. The school's early history seemed to confirm the apprehensions of the reluctant unions; in 1874 Bowyer was complaining that, with the exception of Religious Instruction, standards of teaching in the school were not much higher than those achieved in a fair workhouse school. Furthermore, the sanitary state of the school was far from satisfactory; already ophthalmia and cutaneous diseases were prevalent

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1. A memo received 29th.Dec.1872 but filed with the Jan.1873 correspondence put the total cost at £23,626 which would work out at an even higher rate per place. MH 27/113.

to such a degree that the infirmary had proved to be too small; (16) scarlet fever broke out in 1878 with two fatalities (17) and again in 1879 (18). Relations amongst the staff were never harmonious, resignations being exceptionally frequent. Even the chief officers did not stay long in their posts; the first superintendent had to be removed by the rarely used device of a Local Government Board order, (19) after less than eighteen months service. His successor stayed eighteen months before resigning (20), only to be followed by one who stayed for an even shorter time (21). The managers then made an interesting move in appointing Jane Watson, a 47 year old spinster, (22) formerly in charge of a house at Eton, (23) as joint superintendent and matron. (24) The experiment was not successful, however, for, after some two and a half years, the Local Government Board again had to have recourse to an order which declared her unfit for the office. (25) The managers then reverted to the former system of having a male superintendent. (26)

The school's difficulties may well have been the result of a weak board of management. On two occasions Longe, the inspector, drew attention to this; (27) the Walsall board had rapidly lost faith in the district school idea, a view reflected by its representatives on the school's board of management. When extensions to the school were proposed in 1878, the Walsall Union memorialised the Local Government Board in opposition (28) and even went so far

as to explore the possibility of seceding from the district. (29) Just before the 1879 elections to the board of management of the school a most extraordinary motion was agreed to by the Walsall guardians; they would appoint as their representatives on the school's board only those who supported boarding out and the dissolution of the school district. (30) The disruptive tactics of the Walsall representatives were eventually brought to an end in exchange for an agreement to get rid of Miss Watson and revert to a male superintendent. (31) With such a divided management it is not surprising that the school seemed always to be in a state of strife.

Meanwhile the original six district schools, founded in 1849, continued their work, their activities providing most of the material for the never-ending debate on the district school question. <sup>By</sup> ~~In~~ 1868 an expenditure of close on £200,000 had been authorised for these schools, most of it for the three great metropolitan schools, (32) the Central London school now at Hanwell, the South Metropolitan school at Sutton and the North Surrey school at Anerley. These three schools were the only true exemplars of the full district school idea. Rising expenditure reflected the increasing complexity of district school administration. Special problems small enough to be ignored in workhouse schools demanded solutions (at additional expense) in the large district schools, such as that of the South Metropolitan District which had an average attendance of 2618 for the

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half year ending with Lady Day 1892. The four hundred place "district or county" school of Dr. Kay had now become a vast undertaking. Apart from extensive school and boarding accommodation, there were swimming baths, laundries, workshops, probation wards, sick wards, isolation wards and administrative offices to be provided at great expense. The South Metropolitan school had to suspend admissions in 1879 (33) and build an additional 600 place school on the Sutton site (34) yet even this proved insufficient and in 1882 the Witham workhouse was taken over and converted into a special school for orphan and deserted children of 7 to 12. (35) The growth in London's population coupled with the greater space which modern hygiene demanded for each child also created problems for the North Surrey school at Anerley. In 1876, 1882 and again in 1885, pressure on the school was relieved by separating unions from the district. The 1876 hiving off led to the formation of a new school district -the Kensington and Chelsea- which built a village based on the "cottage home" principle to be described later in this study. New ideas on the treatment of sick

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1. There was one day in the year upon which the large number of children in the South Metropolitan school was of great advantage. The school was situated near Epsom and on Derby day the children were lined up at the side of the road to the course. The police kept the path in front of the children clear and boys were instructed to run up and down collecting the money thrown by the race-going crowds. The infants were lined up in a field close to the railway and as the crowded trains passed they slowed down to let the passengers throw their donations to the children. About £200 was collected each year for the children's treat. Many disapproved of this organised training in begging. 3rd. Annual Report State Children's Association. p.4-5.

children led to North Surrey managers in 1886 to open a  
 (1)  
 convalescent home at Broadstairs.(36) At the main school  
 the staff numbered 90 with salaries ranging from a head-  
 master's at £195 p.a. to that of a pupil teacher at 1/- per  
 week; on the domestic side, the resident engineer earned  
 £104 and an assistant laundress £5 per year.(37) Even  
 water was expensive for the Lambeth Water Company charged  
 the managers £400 for the water supplied to the building  
 in a year. (38)

Perhaps the greatest of the difficulties besetting  
 the district schools were two problems which existed through-  
 out the period under review, ophthalmia, and short stay  
 children ("ins and outs" as the poor law jargon dubbed them).  
 In district schools both required large expenditure for their  
 solution, yet in workhouse schools they were small enough  
 to be ignored. Many and various were the explanations of  
 the origin of ophthalmia though it was generally said to have  
 been brought to Britain by Wellington's returning soldiers.  
 Eye infections, common among the working classes, had long  
 been prevalent in workhouses, and, in the teeming life of a  
 district school with trough washing and communal towels, they  
 spread rapidly. During the years 1868 to 1870 there was a  
 sudden increase in metropolitan pauperism and pressure on  
 workhouse accommodation forced guardians to send infected  
 children straight to the district school instead of keeping  
 them for a probationary period. Furthermore the Metrop-  
 I. called "Wainright House" after the chairman of the managers

olitan Common Poor Fund did not pay for children kept in the workhouses so there was every incentive to send children quickly to the district school. The sudden increase in ophthalmia -especially at the North Surrey school- in 1871 and 1872 led the Local Government Board to advise increased precautions. (39) Dr. Bridges, the Board's medical officer, made a report in the spring of 1872 which led to the dismissal of several senior officials of the Anerley school, and to temporary sanitary improvements. In the following April, 300 of the worst cases (the roll of the school was then 690) were sent to the new, yet unoccupied, workhouse of the Whitechapel Union in Bow Road, Mile End. This establishment -the Bow Road Infirmary- was under the direction of Mr. Nettleship, a leading eye specialist holding a senior post at the London Ophthalmic Hospital. The experiment lasted for a year and the infected children remaining at Anerley were isolated until they could be removed to Bow Road to replace fit children being returned to join the main body of the school. Some of the teachers and staff accompanied the children to Bow Road and those who were able continued with their school work. This was an important part of the experiment because the condition of ophthalmia demands long convalescence during which the eyes remain sound and usable though still liable to pass infection to the eyes of the healthy. (41) In the absence of some 300 children from the main school, structural alterations were carried out designed to improve the hygiene and

sanitation of the building.(42) The Local Government Board had to allay some of the wild statements made with regard to the outbreak by giving, with Mr. Nettleship's authority, the assurance that "in no instance has sight been anything like lost." (43) The Board also took the opportunity of bringing the North Surrey school into line with the other district schools by requiring the managers to be elected tri-ennially instead of annually;(44) it was hoped that responsibility would thus be firmly placed upon the board of management, there being no excuse for leaving reforms to be done by the following board. A circular was then issued (45) requiring all children to be certified free from infection before being accepted into a district or separate school, yet even this was not considered sufficient for henceforth all the best district schools began to erect probationary blocks in which new arrivals were kept for a period before being allowed to mix with the other children. The whole episode was something of a blow to Carleton Tufnell, now approaching his retirement after a lifetime spent in lauding the achievements of the district school. Anerley had for long been one of his show-places and this fall from grace could not be passed without comment. "Every human institution," he wrote philosophically, "is liable to fail, and hence I must admit the partial but temporary failure of the North Surrey District School." The intellectual side of the school had, he insisted, never been equalled, but "sanitary arrangements which ought never to have been neglected," (46)

have now mastered the disease." (46)

Ophthalmia was not, however, peculiar to the North Surrey school; it was "of not unfrequent occurrence in the large district and separate pauper schools." (47) The South Metropolitan school had an outbreak in November, 1869, which<sup>1</sup> Dr. Bridges believed (48) to have been caused by the children's visit to the Crystal Palace on a windy dusty day the previous September. At Hanwell, the Central London school had similar troubles; a change of staff in 1862<sup>2</sup> uncovered the fact that although 686 out of the 1162 children in the school were suffering from ophthalmia, only 92 were being treated in isolation. (49) At intervals the managers were reported to be taking steps to eradicate the disease with results that may be judged from the remark in the Local Government Board's report for 1889-1890:-  
 "The managers of the Central London District School have resolved on energetic action in connection with the ophthalmia so long prevalent in their schools..."(50)  
 Ophthalmia and cutaneous diseases broke out at the Walsall and West Bromwich school soon after its opening but this was not surprising since children could use water for washing that had been used by other children, and the "clean" water was in fact supplied through the self-same pipe which carried off the waste.(51)

Turning to the other problem which, passing unnoticed in the workhouse school, caused disruption in the district school, examples are best drawn from the South Metropolitan



school. Casual pauper children formed an excessively high proportion of the metropolitan schools' rolls. In December, 1873, for example, when the total attendance was 8,608, the number of admissions and discharges in the previous year had been  $\frac{7}{10}$  7,272 and 6,867 respectively.(52) In small schools the transitory children were absorbed quickly into the classes but the large numbers at a district school demanded special treatment. Furthermore the stringent cordon sanitaire which district schools now placed around their permanent children precluded any such immediate mixing. At Sutton, the South Metropolitan managers erected an entirely separate building solely for the use of the "ins and outs"; there were separate yards and playgrounds and no possibility of the permanent children being contaminated either morally or physically by the migratory class. (53) Yet again a difficulty had been met by further expenditure. Small wonder, then, that the district school failed to live up to its reputed economy.

The most expensive of all the district school establishments was the training ship "Goliath" maintained by the Forest Gate District in the Thames, near enough for visits by such celebrities as the Prince of Wales(54) who never failed to give good reports. Unhappily the ship was burnt out on December 22nd., 1875, and 21 of the 525 on board lost their lives.(55) The steadiness of the boys in the emergency was regarded as a fine though tragic proof of the excellence of their training. No time was lost in

obtaining a replacement and by the following Christmas the "Exmouth" was moored off Grays, Essex. (56) The change of ship led to a change in administration. "Goliath" had been attached to the Forest Gate District which comprised the water-side unions, but since the training ship drew children from other unions too, this arrangement left something to be desired. It was decided to make the "Exmouth" the responsibility of the whole metropolitan area and, as there was no educational authority to cover the whole metropolis, the ship was placed under the control of the Metropolitan Asylum District. This administrative expedient restricted the use of the "Exmouth" to boys from the metropolitan unions and when it was found that the available places were not being filled the Local Government Board issued an order on 15th. June, 1892, allowing boys from any union to be accepted provided they fulfilled the physical regulations. (57) The "Exmouth" lived up to the standard (58) set by its predecessor, <sup>(1)</sup> and on March 12th., 1881, H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh, in his capacity as Admiral Superintendent of Naval Reserves, inspected and commended it. (59) When the Departmental Committee of 1894 to 1896 discussed the metropolitan poor law schools, although it had criticisms of the training ship to make, it approved of the system

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1. The success of "Exmouth" inspired C.A.R. Hoare to establish another ship, the "Mercury", moored at Ryde in the Isle of Wight. Although not a poor law institution, it did take boys from poor law unions and in 1889 ten boys from the West Ham Union went with her on a cruise to the Mediterranean. 18 L.G.B. 188-9 p.153.

and even went so far as to suggest that a second ship should be established.

In 1877 Brentwood, the last district to be formed, (61) set up its school. This district was formed by separating the Hackney Union from the Forest Gate District (62) and joining it to St. Leonard's Shoreditch. But Brentwood was also the first of the established districts to be dissolved for even before its formation the movement which opposed the district school idea had suddenly received added support from several quarters. Expense, as always, was the drawback, and the enormous cost of district schools when compared with other pauper schools puzzled even Tufnell: "there must be a fallacy somewhere," he wrote, or the plainest doctrines of economy are erroneous." (63) Building charges were being allowed for in one case and not in the other, he suggested. Yet the rough correlation between size and expense was maintained even as between district schools; in 1865 £12 to £14 per annum sufficed to keep a child in the three small rural district schools, whilst the large metropolitan schools needed anything from £16 to £30.<sup>(1)</sup> Stansfeld, last President of the Poor Law Board, initiated an inquiry into the variations in cost of maintenance in metropolitan district and separate schools. The report produced by

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1. 19 P.L.B. 1866-7 appx. 19 p.150. Land costs were, of course, greater in the metropolitan area but an analysis of the figures for maintenance alone, excluding building and loan charges, gives a similar result.

Dr. Mouat showed that some of the variation was due to bad housekeeping; some managers were paying 34/3 per barrel for ale whilst others paid £1, and even matches were purchased for 3/- per gross boxes by one school and for 8/6 by another. (64) Though Mouat's report led to some economies these tended to be negligible when compared with the large additional expenditure necessitated by improvements to the buildings and facilities. When the Kensington and Chelsea District built its school at a cost of £121-1-0 per head (65), all pretence that district schools were an economical means of bringing up pauper children had to be dropped. The figures told their tale; in 1877 district schools averaged £24-9-11 for the yearly maintenance and education of a child, whilst the average for the whole of England and Wales was only £11-9-0 (66).

Expense remained as the principle argument against the district school in the minds of the guardians. In the 1860s, however, a new movement gave support to their case, a movement which objected to the district school not as an inefficient institution but because it was an institution. Children, ran the new theory, ought to be dispersed for their upbringing not massed together as in the district schools. Women played an important part in this reorientation of attitude and their efforts received a measure of official approbation when, in 1869, the Poor Law Board gave limited permission for experiments in the boarding out of pauper children with foster parents. James Stansfeld

(1)

was himself a supporter of women's claims and was particularly interested in the effect upon girls of the education given in the large London district schools. As early as 1871 he had sent a minute to Hugh Owen, the indefatigable chief clerk to the department, requiring full details of all girls who had left the metropolitan district schools in the last three years, their employers and present whereabouts. (ii) What he learned from this private inquiry cannot have pleased him for early in 1873 he asked Mrs. Nassau Senior -ironically enough she was the daughter-in-law of the economist who had supported the district school idea- to investigate the condition of the girls in the metropolitan pauper schools. Jane Elizabeth Senior, "a woman of rare abilities" (iii) was not one of the outstanding women poor law workers, but had obtained some notice by visiting workhouses privately and writing to the press in favour of boarding out. When Stansfeld chose her -at Octavia Hill's suggestion- to undertake this survey she became "the first woman who ever obtained a high salaried appointment among men, and on the same terms, in one of

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i. He later sacrificed his political career by supporting Josephine Butler's campaign against the Contagious Diseases Act. James Stansfeld J.L. & B. Hammond, 1932.

ii. See memo. initialed "J.S." and dated Oct. 19th. [1871] MH 27/112. Owen drew up a form, with Tufnell's advice, (see minute of 22nd. Oct. 1871), which was printed for despatch to the schools (see copy stamped 6th. Nov. 1871).

iii. Spectator 31st. March, 1877 p.395. Born in 1828, she was the sister of Thomas Hughes, author of Tom Brown's Schooldays.

the most difficult departments of state." (1) Her appointment was, at the lady's request, a temporary one and a year later her report, dated January 1st, 1874, appeared. (67) It was no random compilation of miscellaneous facts; a well planned scheme had been thoroughly carried out. After a preliminary visit to each of the seventeen district or separate schools in the metropolis, all the 650 girls who had left these schools in the years 1871 and 1872 were followed up and their present condition and character ascertained. In addition, there was a survey of 50 children who had been out of the school for longer than one or two years, but this group was restricted to those who had been trained in the district or separate schools for at least five years. Naturally such an immense task as this was beyond the capabilities of one person, even though a whole year was spent at the undertaking, and Mrs. Senior had the help of ladies who voluntarily did much of the visiting and reporting.

Mrs Senior concentrated upon the moral and physical aspects of the children's upbringing, ignoring the scholastic side, so she could, therefore, be said to have disregarded the strongest department of the large school's work. Again, her terms of reference precluded specific treatment of the position of the boys who, on the whole, fared much better

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1. Times 29th. March, 1877. p.5. For the significance of the appointment of a woman inspector see Hilda Martindale Women Servants of the State, 1938 p.30-32.

than the girls. But even allowing for this, there could be no denying the validity of her ~~these~~-thesis; education which was no more than academically sound did not meet the requirements of the case, and achievements by the boys did not make up for the deficiencies on the girls' side. The system itself was at fault, not its administration. The lives of the children were, she declared, dull and monotonous; occasional visits outside the building and grounds assumed enormous importance in the minds of the inmates and events were classed in time as being before or after the last visit to the Crystal Palace. Round shoulders and narrow chests were, she wrote, even more common than the children's pauper origins would warrant, probably because "It is rare to see backs fitted to the forms." (68) "A woman's eye with woman's insight falls," wrote a versifying panegyrist at Mrs. Senior's death, (69) and she noticed in particular the domestic details which escaped the eye of the male inspector. Only infants were allowed nightgowns and girls were wearing their shifts day and night for a week or for two weeks if the garments were made of flannel. The spotless pinafores which so impressed visitors often concealed dirty underclothes. (70) Food was unvaried, therefore unrelished and consequently lacking in nourishment. Meals, served out before the children entered the dining room were cold when they were ready to eat; the long grace, even longer when it was sung, added to the delay. The badly cut and tight-fitting bodices worn by the girls

restricted their movements; their play consequently lacked spontaneity -there was not even a tradition of games. (71) Little was done to correct this as "with rare exceptions, the children are left totally without occupation or amusement" in their recreation time. (72) The complete lack of playing materials was strikingly illustrated by an anecdote which nevertheless paid tribute to the boundless ingenuity of the child mind, even in the most difficult circumstances; "At one school," reported Mrs.Senior(73), "I was told by the matron that the children in the infirmary had carefully picked out the red wool with which the blankets were overcast and by straightening hairpins had formed knitting needles, and taught themselves to knit up the wool.<sup>(1)</sup>

Mrs. Senior had several proposals to make. As a supporter of boarding out she naturally favoured its introduction. She admitted, however, that boarding out could never be used in the case of the majority of pauper children, the casuals, the defective and the refractory. Some kind of institution would have to be maintained, but a large school, at any rate for the girls, was no solution. "However carefully elaborated a system may be under which girls are brought together in large numbers, it will issue in failure." (74) She therefore proposed that all girls who could not be boarded out should be placed in small schools

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1. Delight in the highly coloured seems to have been the pauper child's tacit protest against the drabness of institution life. Some mistresses complained that the girls, when they got into service, pilfered shiny buckles and brightly coloured beads.



where individual influence could be brought to bear, where a girl would not be lost in the mass and where the amount of household work would not be excessive. Ideally such schools should be on the Mettray plan, the children living in houses with not more than thirty to a house. As a preliminary she suggested breaking up the existing large schools and reestablishing them as specialised institutions each dedicated to a particular type of relief; some would be for permanent children, some for the casuals or for hospitals, whilst others would be special infant schools, where older children could go to be trained as infant helpers. "Every question of mere administration ought to be subservient to the promotion of the health and vigour of the children," concluded Mrs. Senior,(75) a belief contrasting sharply with that of the highly bureaucratic poor law department. For Mrs. Senior the individual child was the centre of the scheme, not the school, the annual examination or the poor law code. If her report were to be briefly summarised it could not be done better than in one of her own phrases -the children needed more "mothering".(76) Her recommendation of a dual solution, boarding out and specialised institutions, recognised the existence of two entirely different problems in the education of pauper children; for some a complete upbringing had to be provided whilst for others temporary remedial treatment of some kind was required. The days of the single all-embracing solution were over and the break-up of the large school had begun.

Mrs. Senior's report amounted to an indictment of the district school, certainly as far as girls were concerned. The report fell, however, into unsympathetic hands. It was presented in January, 1874 but Stansfeld shortly left the office to join with Josephine Butler in a greater battle for women's rights fought over the sordid ground of the Contagious Diseases Acts. Before leaving he did what he could for Mrs. Senior by making her appointment permanent.<sup>(1)</sup> When Disraeli's ministry replaced Gladstone's, Mrs. Senior became even more insecure; "If the Tories don't abolish me I shall be thankful !" she confided to a friend.<sup>(77)</sup> The strain of a hostile atmosphere was too much for her and she resigned for health reasons, in November, 1874. Her report had been issued as an appendix to the 3rd. annual report of the Local Government Board; as it happened, the same volume contained the last report by Tufnell,<sup>(11)</sup> the chief supporter of the district school. When he saw Mrs. Senior's report he wrote some "Observations on the report of Mrs. Senior" in April, 1874. Though Mrs. Senior did not resign till the following November, she learned of this reply to her criticisms only in January 1875, after her resignation, when she saw the printed copy which the Local Government Board issued. She

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1. "I did the thing which they hated the most. I imposed a woman upon them, I made a woman a Poor Law Inspector... Before I left the office I made the appointment permanent, so that they could only get rid of her upon abolition terms.. Many of the officials could not endure the appointment..."

J.L. & B. Hammond James Stansfeld p.112-113 quoting Stansfeld in Review of Reviews June 15th. 1895. The permanent appointment was dated 18th. Feb. 1874. Times 29th. March 1877 p.5.

11. He retired 26th. June 1874, aged 68, on a pension of £400 per annum. Boase Modern English Biography vi p.714-5.

immediately wrote a rejoinder but the Board refused to print this on the grounds that she was no longer an official of the Board as Tufnell had been when he wrote his "Observations." To make the injustice even greater, less than a week after telling Mrs. Senior that her rejoinder could not be publicised, Sclater-Booth, the President of the Local Government Board, gave added publicity to Tufnell's strictures by calling in the Commons for a copy of his "Observations". (78) Once again Stansfeld came to the aid of Mrs. Senior by calling for copies of the letters she had written to the Board, these constituting in the main her reply to Tufnell. (79) The ladies also took action and Menella Bute Smedley, one of Mrs. Senior's helpers, reprinted Mrs. Senior's report and answered Tufnell's objections in a pamphlet entitled Boarding out and pauper schools.

The central authorities still seemed to favour, at this stage, the large school, but when mass democracy made itself felt for the first time in British politics and brought the Liberals back in 1880, a change was initiated. Guardians had plans referred back to them when they sought to enlarge or amalgamate schools; the Brentwood School District, for example, discovered that the Board refused to allow an extension of the school which would place 1,000 children "under one administration". (80) A proposal by the North Surrey District to build an additional school on the Anerley site was turned down with a recommendation that it should be erected at "a convenient distance from Anerley". (81)

In the same year the Kensington and Chelsea managers were refused permission to increase the accommodation at their Hammersmith probationary school by 82 places, though a rider intimated that a smaller increase would be permitted.(82) Clearly the Board was unwilling to permit these large schools to increase in size. It was even suggested that existing schools should buy up surrounding land to ensure adequate space for the children. Under this scheme the South Metropolitan District bought up 26 acres adjoining its Sutton school for £6,500 and five acres at Witham for £1,200.(83) The same policy accounted for the Board removing first the Richmond and later the Croydon Unions from the North Surrey District. (84) Then in 1886, the last formed school district was dissolved after a life of less than ten years; The Brentwood District ran two establishments, one at Brentwood which now became the separate school of the Hackney Union, and the other at Harrold Court which became the school for the parish of St. Leonard's Shoreditch. (85) As a corollary to the new policy there was further encouragement for alternative methods, signified by the appointment in 1885 of Miss Mason as inspector of boarded out children.

The new trend of opinion at the Board had been revealed in actions rather than declared in a statement of policy, but such a statement was provided by the Select Committee (Lords) of 1888 on Poor Law Relief which clearly stated its doubts about the district school policy: "We have received no evidence," it reported, " that the district

schools are not carefully managed, but it has been strongly impressed upon us that, especially in the case of the very large schools, and as regards girls, the results of the training in them are unsatisfactory." (86) Commenting on the reason for this failure the committee suggested that, "There are serious disadvantages...which are inseparable from any system under which a number of children are brought up together without any home influence or any contact with the outer world, but we cannot doubt that they are much aggravated by the overgrown size of the metropolitan district schools." (87) As for the cottage home idea, as exemplified by the Banstead school of the Kensington and Chelsea District, this "appeared to offer many advantages over the large district school," (88) but good as it was in comparison, there could be no doubt that for orphan and deserted children the best solution was boarding out.<sup>(1)</sup> Gradually the campaign against the "barrack" schools, as

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i. The Webbs (English Poor Law History II i pp.283 ff.)

describe "The reaction against the 'Barrack School' ". The term included separate as well as district schools as, for example, in the quotation given loc.cit. p.287 "We visited the Swinton (Manchester) Barrack Schools...". Reference has been made (supra p.21 ) to the evidence in favour of the term being in use as early as the 1860s.

~~as~~ they were now stigmatised, grew, supported by the increasing number of women interested in social administration. The large schools were said to demonstrate how short-sighted men were, when dealing with problems involving domestic management, and therefore ~~demonstrated~~ showed the need for an increase in the part played by women in local government. The campaign was greatly assisted by unfortunate incidents involving district and large separate schools. In 1890 at the Forest Gate District School a disastrous fire cost 26 children their lives, the verdict of the jury being accidental death. Henceforth fire precaution regulations were issued and inspectors paid attention to such matters during their visits, boys being trained to assist in fire work. (89) In June, 1893, another disaster overtook the same school and, though it caused only two deaths, was more serious from the point of view of district school administration. On this occasion 150 children in the school were suddenly taken ill with <sup>1</sup>ptomaine poisoning. (90) Grave irregularities were discovered during the course of the inquiry; it appeared that the children's soup had been made from maggot-ridden meat, and that the fresh meat, drawn from the store for the purpose, had in fact been eaten by the school officials. It further appeared that entries made upon the form purporting to record the food given to the children bore no relation to the actual food which the children had. The fact that all this had occurred in a district school with a good

reputation, and one which had been praised by the Board's officials from year to year, only added to the immense scandal which the case created. In the following year, 1894, one of the large London ~~separate~~ schools, the Hackey school at Brentwood, was brought through the courts in a shocking case of mass cruelty. This case concerned a Nurse Gillespie who was convicted and sentenced to penal servitude for cruelty to the children placed in her charge. She was stated to have banged children's heads until blood appeared from the ears, and to have brushed their legs with stinging nettles. (91) All these incidents played no small part in arousing the public agitation which finally forced the President of the Local Government Board in 1894 to appoint the Departmental Committee which was to pronounce ~~the~~ final sentence upon the large school.

This committee was a direct outcome of a visit paid in July, 1894, by a body of influential figures to Fowler, the President. It was brought into existence by a minute dated September 18th., 1894 and, by a happy misfortune, there was available, in the person of A.J.Mundella, a first rate chairman who had been compelled by the makings of a scandal to resign the Presidency of the Board of Trade earlier in the year. (92) The terms of reference were "to enquire into the existing systems for the maintenance and education of children under the ~~man~~ charge of managers of ~~the~~ district schools and boards of guardians in the metropolis, and to advise as to any changes that may be desirable."

After Mundella the most outstanding member was Sir John Gorst, M.P. who became Vice President of the Council for Education in 1895; other members were the Hon. Lyulph Stanley, the Rev. Brooke Lambert, Vicar of Greenwich and a manager of the South Metropolitan school, Dr. J. Russell Reynolds, President of the Royal College of Physicians, Mr. William Vallance, clerk to the Whitechapel guardians, and Mrs. Henrietta Barnett, a manager of the Forest Gate school since 1878. In November of 1894 Dr. Reynolds resigned and was replaced by Dr. Nettleship who, it will be recalled, had considerable experience of the health problem created by the large pauper schools. In January 1895 the committee had added to its members, Dr. J. G. Fitch, an indication of the direction that the committee was taking, for the problem was coming to be regarded as one more properly educational than pauper.

The report, of the 28th. February, 1896 stated at the outset that it agreed with the conclusion of the 1888 select committee of the Lords that large aggregations of children were not to be encouraged. Responsibility for the development of such large accbetions it laid equally upon the Local Government Board and the guardians. The gradual enlargement was due to the guardians' belief that a large school was cheaper than a small one and the Local Government Board had sanctioned such schools "simply from a disinclination to contest that opinion." (93) Painstakingly the case against the large school was built up; the increased risk of



infection, the loss of individuality, the ease with which moral evil could be spread throughout the school and the administrative difficulties were all described. "When it is remembered that the wisest system of education has for its object the development of individual tastes, capacities and interests, it becomes evident that the instruction of scholars in these large establishments is carried on in unfavourable conditions." (94) The committee's recommendations ~~for~~ dealing with the large agglomerations were first, that no more such schools should be built; second that existing schools should not be enlarged and that the numbers for which they were now certified should be reduced and the present blocks be broken up into smaller sections; third that extra accommodation, where required, should be found by using boarding out and scattered homes. The cottage home system was approved in its scattered home <sup>form,</sup> where children went to the local elementary school, but condemned in the style used by the Kensington and Chelsea district where a whole village of cottages was erected around a specially built pauper school. The "Exmouth" was approved and it was recommended that guardians ~~that guardians~~ should have the right to send suitable boys to the ship without waiting for them to volunteer. A new children's authority for the metropolis was proposed, (95) which Mrs. Barnett and Sir John Gorst wished to see placed under the Education instead of the Poor Law department. (96)

. The report gave rise to sharp public controversy.

Mrs Barnett helped to found the "State Children's Association" which had the declared aim of breaking up the large schools. (97) Sir John Gorst tried to place these schools under the Education department by his unsuccessful bill of 1896. Then the Local Government Board itself tried to meet the case by proposing a Children's Asseela Asylum Board for the metropolis, but this was rejected since it rendered an already complicated administrative pattern even more complicated. Much was said in defence of the schools but the findings of the committee coincided with most of the progressive informed opinion; somewhat dramatically the Local Government Board acknowledged this by issuing on the very last day of the year which had seen the publication of the committee's report, an order dissolving the Forest Gate School District. (98) In 1899 the great South Metropolitan school was broken up and ten years later the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws was able to show that in 1907 only 3,591 children remained in district schools compared with over double that number in 1895. (99)

Supported for most of its sixty years by officials in the poor law department, the district school had for at least a generation been out of touch with modern views. The first district school was not set up till 1849, the last in 1877. Eleven schools had been founded, some of them amongst the largest in the land. A few were no larger than some workhouse schools but the full theory of the district school demanded large numbers and it was such large schools

that the departmental committee condemned. The training ship movement had also stemmed from the district school idea. 1849, which saw the establishment of the first district school, marks also the start of regular poor law statistics. During the whole period from 1849 to 1896 the total number of children being educated at district schools showed, with negligible exceptions, a steady increase until in the mid 1890s it was approaching 8,000. This figure is to be compared with that for the total number of children being educated at pauper schools. For the thirty years following 1850 this figure fluctuated between 30,000 and a little over 40,000 but after 1881 it showed a steady decrease till by (1) 1895 it had dropped to 24,475. It is clear then that an ever-increasing proportion of the children being educated in pauper schools were brought up in district schools - in 1895 nearly one third. Even when the new methods of child relief began to take children out of the pauper institution for their education, the numbers at district schools continued to rise. It appears, therefore, that those unions which had invested in these large undertakings could not afford to de-populate them; they represented such a large investment that guardians felt that they had to be used to the full. In 1896, such schools were anomalous survivals;

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1. This fall was due in part to increased prosperity which more than counteracted any increase due to rise in population, but also to the increasing use of means of relief (boarding out, certified schools, sending out to elementary schools, emigration,) which dispensed with the pauper school.

built in the middle years of the century, according to a theory which, though promulgated in the first years of the Queen's reign, was partly based on principles even older, the district school could not but be out of touch with modern requirements. The measure of its obsolescence is the extent to which ideas on child welfare had developed during the century.

## Chapter 5. The Separate School.

"Maintenance and education in schools removed from the associations of a workhouse are so manifestly advantageous, that it appears highly desirable to promote the formation of such schools in all practical cases."  
 13 P.L.B. 1860-I p.26.

The Royal Commission on Education defined the poor law separate school as an institution "at a distance from the workhouse, erected by a union for its own purposes, supported by its own rates, and governed by its own officers."<sup>(1)</sup> The separate school was, however, not entirely a product of the new poor law, for prior to 1834 certain large parishes and incorporations had established separate buildings exclusively devoted to the needs of the pauper children. This development was particularly frequent in the metropolis where Jonas Hanway's acts (2) compelled the parishes to maintain their young children at least three miles from the cities of London and Westminster. Usually this requirement was satisfied by farming the children out to a contractor who maintained a building at the required distance, but occasionally the parish officials established boarding schools of their own in the country and these schools are the true forerunners of the separate school of the new poor law.

The Royal Commission of 1832-1834 recommended that each union should establish in one of the former parish workhouses, suitably modified, a school for all the children of the union regardless of their parish of origin; (3) clearly

this was a proposal for the establishment of a separate school in each union of the land. It has already been shown that the proposals of the commissioners of 1832-4 for separate provision for each of the main classes of pauper were not carried out; instead the country found that the mixed general workhouse of the old poor law was, in most cases, perpetuated into the new poor law. The school within the workhouse or, at best, alongside the workhouse -the workhouse or the detached workhouse school- became the most common way of educating pauper children. In some cases, however, and particularly in the populous unions, parishes or incorporations, it was found that there were so many paupers that separate provision for the children became not only desirable but imperative. A genuine desire for furthering the children's education caused some guardians to set up separate school well away from the union workhouse but others, anxious to create the space necessary for a thorough application of the "workhouse test", merely removed from the workhouse the most convenient class -the children- and thus arrived indirectly at the separate school solution. The fact that the separate school idea involved a considerable geographical separation of the child from his parents may well have been regarded as adding to the efficacy of "the test". Separate schools were usually built outside towns, where land was cheap and air was cleaner. Occasionally the separate school would be found within the town itself but the cramped conditions resulting from such a location

were not conducive to success, as the history of the separate school at Sheffield was to show. (4) Since the separate school was at a distance from the workhouse it required a separate administrative and domestic staff in addition to the teaching staff; both academic and house staff were, of course, directly responsible to the board of guardians of the union. There was no responsibility to any union which had entered a contract for the education of its children at the school; the guardians of the union erecting the school were solely in control.

It is now possible for an adequate differentiation of the separate school from the other types of pauper schools to be made. The separate school was a distinct institution exclusively devoted to the needs of pauper children, theses being drawn primarily from the union which owned the school, situated at a distance from the workhouse, having a separate administration directly responsible to the board of guardians. It had thus a distinct part to play in the field of pauper education, but in poor law literature it was constantly treated jointly with other types of school, sometimes with one type and sometimes with another. Administratively it was treated as similar to a workhouse school, since both were controlled by a single board of guardians and both catered primarily for the children of a single union. This equation ignored the fact of the separate administration given to a separate school which freed it from the many restrictions which beset life in the workhouse. Academically the separate

school was classed as the equivalent of the district school, for the advantages and disadvantages of the two types were, in this respect, similar. But again this ignored differences; the district school was controlled by a district board representing the several boards of guardians in the district, whilst the separate school was under the control of a single board of guardians. The separate school did not, therefore, suffer from the inter-union jealousy<sup>(1)</sup> which often bedevilled the work of the district boards; nor did it suffer from the restrictions in the district<sup>(ii)</sup> school legislation.

Guardians in populous places having large numbers of children on their hands were impressed by the theory behind the large school project but shrank from the complexities of the school district. With a separation school no cooperation with other unions was required, no limitations to expenditure existed, nor was there any need to make allowance for the tender feelings of parents who might object to children being sent to a district school. It is not surprising, therefore, that when the Royal Commission made its investigation in 1859 it found that whilst there were only six district schools, notwithstanding the central

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- i. See, for example, Kensington's complaints that the North Surrey school did not take as many children as the rateable value of the parish warranted. MS. Minutes of Kensington guardians, 18th. March, 1875.
  - ii. Under the district school act, for example, a parent could refuse to allow his child to go to a district school; legally a separate school, no matter how distant, was considered part of the workhouse and a parent was powerless to prevent the child being sent there.



authority's preference, there were no less than 19 separate schools. (5) The record of the guardians setting up these schools was a good one; the West London Union first collected all the children into Smithfield workhouse, then bought a house in  $1\frac{1}{2}$  acres of ground at Edmonton, appointed a master and mistress, and set up a separate school. (6) The Edmonton children were taken even further out and their school was set up at Enfield. (7) Other metropolitan parishes and unions took similar steps and by 1849 there six separate schools in and around the metropolis. <sup>(1)</sup> In the provinces there were similar developments; the Manchester guardians, faced with a swift rise in population and a corresponding increase in the number of paupers, had some 600 children on their hands in 1841. A committee inspected Norwood, Kays blue-print of a pauper school, and it was decided that a similar foundation should be built. (8) Dr. Kay incorporated some of his own suggestions in the plans (9) and soon a "magnificent establishment" with a 450 foot frontage, built in the Tudor style, dominated by two great towers which, by having fires lit beneath them, were to provide the ventilation, began to rise at Swinton, five miles from Manchester, in 1843. (10) Though its capacity was 1,200, <sup>(11)</sup> there were only 600 on roll when, with suitable ceremony,

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- I. In addition to those already mentioned there was the St. Giles school at Heston, the Lambeth at Lower Norwood, the St. James at Brentford, and St. George the Martyr at Lewisham. P.P. (133) 1850 p.15.
  - ii. The address of the headmaster, William J. Parker, was published (London, 1846) as An address to the teachers.... of the Manchester...training schools; that of the chaplain, Rev. W.B. Flower was printed as A Christian view of the Schoolmaster's office.

the school opened.. The initial cost was £50,000 (I1) and by 1869 a further £8,000 had been added. (I2) The rate-payers were critical of this great expenditure and in 1846 the district auditor was complaining that the expense of this "costly establishment" was "inconsistent with the class of children for whom the schools were designed." (I3) In the autumn of 1845 an inspection on behalf of the Committee of Council by E.C.Tufnell and S. Tremenheere revealed that despite the extravagance of the guardians the school still had its deficiencies; the same room was used as both dining room and chapel so children had to march out after morning prayers and wait whilst the room was transformed and their meal served. The headmaster complained that it was difficult to maintain a proper reverent atmosphere in a room usually used as a dining room. The girls' wing had two quite useless rooms which had been turned into a "coffin-store" and a "dead house".(I4) Tufnell inspected the school again in April 1847 (when there were 626 children in residence) (I5) but when the workhouse school inspectorate was established later in the same year Swinton fell into the district of T.B.Browne. Browne was at first impressed, particularly with the Infant school under M'Leod (I6), but later discovered evidence in support of his developing argument against the large school. He was able to show that those unions <sup>(1)</sup> which sent children to

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1. Bury, Rochdale, Barton and Prestwick.

Swinton on contract now educated fewer children than when they kept their workhouse schools in being; children were lingering in workhouses to avoid the trouble of sending them to Swinton. Even Manchester kept children back rather than send them the five miles to Swinton; in 1853 there were 85 children in the workhouse at the time of Browne's visit, (17) and in the following year 119 (18) and there was no improvement in 1856. (19) The guardians pleaded that they were retaining children in the workhouse to prevent parents deliberately pauperising themselves to obtain the benefits of a Swinton education for their children. (20) They finally met this problem by establishing a school at the Crumpsall workhouse and all Swinton entrants passed first through this probationary school, (21) thus protecting Swinton from disease and the disturbance caused by "ins and outs".

Liverpool was not going to be left behind by its northern rival, and here too an "imposing mass of buildings" in the Tudor style rose up, this time at Kirkdale, two and a half miles west of Liverpool on a hill overlooking the Mersey. The grounds covered only three acres, a limitation which was to hamper future development (22) but which was reflected in the low initial cost of £11,500.<sup>(1)</sup> The Committee of Council wisely advised that infectipus wards and industrial workshops should be added (23) and eventually the school opened in May 1845, an event made memorable in

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1. Minutes C.C.E. 1842-3 p.251. Its final cost was £30,000 -21 P.L.B. 1868-9 appx. 21 p.102.

in this case by 20 boys absconding on their first walk. (24) The school rapidly grew in size from 919 in April 1847 (25) to 1,079 shortly afterwards (26) until, in 1853, with 1,200 pupils it had become the largest pauper school in the country. (27) From the start the boys' school at Kirkwood<sup>dale</sup> was academically outstanding; when Tufnell and Tremenheere visited the school there were two Battersea-trained teachers at work; (28) when Browne made his first visit 17 of the boys gave him correctly the interest on £675-10-0 for 3½ years at four and one third per cent. (29) There were then 13 pupil teachers at the school, and clearly it was intended that Kirkwood<sup>d e</sup> should become the Norwood of the north. (30) The girls' school got from Tufnell and Tremenheere the first of the many adverse reports (31) it was to receive; the state of this girls' school led Browne to anticipate Mrs. Senior by suggesting that large girls' schools "have a strong tendency to render girls coarse and unfeminine." (32) He believed that the large number of acquaintances made by the girls during their stay at the school gave moral turpitude the opportunity of multiplying itself. The girls were all placed out within a small area and old friendships were soon renewed; (33) he produced figures to the 1861 Select Committee showing that numbers of Kirkdale girls ended up either as prostitutes or in gaol. (34)

There were other separate schools w<sup>i</sup> elsewhere in the provinces though none so spectacular as the two

northern giants. At Leeds there was yet another  
 "handsome elevation"<sup>(1)</sup> and a clergyman combined the posts  
 of chaplain and headmaster. (35) The Oxford Incorporation  
 had a fine separate industrial school at Cowley which was  
 capable of holding 300 children; its full development was  
 hindered, however, by a division of views amongst the  
 guardians on school policy. (36) The Birmingham separate  
 school had probationary sections to protect the main  
 school from the "ins and outs"; (37) other<sup>s</sup> separate schools  
 were to be found at Norwich, Bristol, Wellington, Newport  
 and Cardiff. (38)

The Norwich school was quite unique. The workhouse  
 was situated in a medieval ecclesiastical building in which  
 there was a normal boys' and girls' workhouse school. In  
 addition, however, there was a boys' home in the town,  
 established in 1847, and a girls' home outside the town,  
 established in 1850, where children went to stay as they  
 approached the time for being put out to work. These  
 homes fulfilled the function of separate schools because each  
 had teachers and a school. The <sup>s</sup>instance on the use of the  
 word "home", thus avoiding workhouse connotations, is  
 noteworthy. There was a further unique feature, so  
unique, in fact, that there were grave doubts as to the  
legality. When the boys from the home were successful in  
 getting a job they were allowed to continue living there  
 for two years paying all the cost of their keep apart from  
 sixpence. Naturally this was a cheaper lodging than was

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1. Final cost was £16,134-15-0. 20 P.L.B. 1867-8 appx.29  
 p.153 and 21 P.L.B. 1868-9 appx. 21 p.102.

normally possible. There seems to have been no objection from the independent poor that this arrangement made it possible for the pauper boy to undercut the labour market, and the system served as an admirable introduction of the boys in the home to the world of work. After two years the "work" boys, as they were called to distinguish them from the "school" boys, were reasonably established and able to go out on their own to get lodgings. A better introduction to work or a more efficient system of after-care and follow up could hardly be devised. With admirable tenacity the Norwich guardians maintained their system despite its doubtful legality, but the system was never tried elsewhere. (39)

The main development of separate schools continued to be in the metropolis. By 1856 3,153<sup>(1)</sup> of the 7,014<sup>(11)</sup> metropolitan pauper children were in separate schools; soon ~~each~~<sup>even</sup> such back-sliding parishes as St. Marylebone and Mile End Old Town produced separate schools, (40) and when the Royal Commission on Popular Education made its enquiry almost all the London pauper children not in district schools were in separate schools. The Royal Commission classed

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1. 9 P.L.B. 1856-7 appx. 30 p.117. 1,505 were in workhouse schools, and 2,356 were in district schools.

11. St. James, Westminster school had moved to Battersea. New schools were St. George in the East (Plashet), Stepney (Limehouse), Strand (Edmonton), Whitechapel (Forest Gate), St. James, Clerkenwell (Kentish Town), St. Leonard, Shoreditch (Brentwood), St. Mary, Islington (Hornsey). 9 P.L.B. 1856-7 appx. 30 p.117. St. Mary, Newington had also built a school, but used the building for adults and sent the children to the North Surrey District School instead. 4 P.L.B. 1851 p.8.

nineteen of the country's pauper schools as separate schools, these educating 4,381 children, compared with the 2,682 children in 6 district schools and 37,545 in workhouse schools. (41) The Commission had little to say in favour of workhouse schools but coupled the district and separate schools together as worthy of being forced upon the guardians. (42) We have seen that the Select Committee of 1861 to 1864 spent some time in discrediting the Royal Commission's findings on poor law schools, but most of this counter attack was delivered against the district schools and the separate schools came well out of both investigations; the committee even conceded that, whilst compulsion was impossible, the school separate from the workhouse should be encouraged. (43)

The separate school was thus playing an increasingly important part in poor law education. The roll at Kirkdale grew larger still, <sup>(1)</sup> from 1,290 in 1868 (44) to 1,511 in 1872 (45) followed by a decline connected with the development of certified schools, till in 1890, there were only 600 pupils. (46) Intellectual standards in the boys' school remained "outstanding and unequalled", (47) yet even these young academicians relaxed on one day in the year when the school went on a jaunt up the river to Eastham for the school treat and saw "the performances of Blondin on the

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I. At the peak, a building designed to relieve the pressure on workhouse accommodation caused by the cotton famine, was brought into use as an infant school. II L.G.B. 1881-1882 appx. 29 p.108.

high rope." (48) The Swinton school had fewer children than Kirkwood<sup>d</sup> -the roll was 900 in 1859 (49)- and was never able to equal the Liverpool school's scholastic achievements. The excellent situation of the school, however, with plenty of land available for cultivation (50), led to the development of a highly successful programme of industrial training. (51) The teachers made a point of organising children's games and the boys even had a fives court. (52) The Leeds school continued to have an unhappy history and despite an all but complete change of staff in 1866-1867, it failed to satisfy the guardians, particularly on the grounds of running costs. (53) Cowley, the Oxford school, took advantage of its country situation by specialising in agricultural training; the children's labour produced from the seven acre farm a profit equivalent to 3½d. of the 2/5 per head weekly cost of food and clothing. (54) Unhappily this 300 place school was rarely even half full for it was built with a view to accommodating the children from surrounding unions, whose guardians preferred, in the event, to keep their own workhouse schools. Bowyer pointed out that in 1868, when there were some 100 children at the Cowley school, six neighbouring workhouse schools were educating 220 children at a cost of £318-17-0 to the parliamentary grant for teachers' salaries; the inspector favoured ordering these schools to send their children to Cowley under pain of losing all aid from the grant. (55) The Poor Law Board, and its successor, failed to respond



(1)  
 to such pleas. Brighton gave up its workhouse school in 1862 and set up a separate school at Warren Farm, about three miles away. The chaplain, The Rev. John Allen, was much impressed by the improvements stemming from this change; children were now actually sought by employers of a superior class. "Here for the future," he concluded, "pauper schools will no longer be the nursery of pauperism." (56)  
 A feature of this school was the excellent physical training taken by the drill instructor who varied his lessons by teaching the boys army signalling, a course which commended itself to the inspector as it combined "interest and amusement with useful instruction." \* What is even more noteworthy is the fact that there was an attempt in 1876 to extend the benefits of such physical training to the girls. (57)

Returning again to the metropolis we find that there <sup>were</sup> 13 separate schools educating 4,320 children in 1866. (58)  
 The new school districts formed after 1867 caused some reorganisation but in 1871 there were still 12 schools educating 3,968 children, (59) a number which was to increase to 4,721 by 1894, (60) It is clear that, like the district schools, the separate schools did not fall off in size during the century as did the workhouse schools. The new

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1. Even more wasteful arrangements were tolerated. In 1876 two schools, less than ten miles apart, had two and five pupils respectively, each with a teacher whose salary was paid from the parliamentary grant. 6 L.G.B. 1876-1877 appx. 31 p.95.

methods -sending to day schools, boarding out etc. - left these schools untouched, probably because the guardians were loathe not to use to the full a building which represented a considerable capital investment for the ratepayers. Only here and there would a set of "radical" guardians, such as those at Stepney who closed their school in 1894, prefer not to use the lives of pauper children as interest payable on a mortgaged past.

To the guardians the cost of maintenance in separate schools was little different from that in district schools; a separate staff had to be employed in both and there was no method of using the existing workhouse officials as in workhouse schools. A survey of the London schools, averaged for the period 1869-1873, produced figures ranging from £23-0-3 per head per annum for the St. Marylebone school, <sup>(1)</sup> to £16-10-0 at Mile End. (61) In 1880 Westminster school's expenditure was largest at £30-16-6 and Mile End was still the smallest at £15-9-6. (62) Figures for the provincial schools tended to be somewhat lower than the London average; in 1869, Swinton's children were costing £14-13-7 per head per annum, (63) whilst the Kirkdale children cost £13-12-4. The figure of £19-15-5 in 1868 for the Leeds school was clearly thought by the guardians to reflect upon the efficiency of the staff. (64)

The separate school had thus a long and fairly

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1. St. Pancras with £36-10-2, a recently built school paying off short-term loans, is omitted. In 1880 the St. Pancras figure was £19-6-4.

successful tradition behind it; so successful in fact that even at the end of the century when it had become outmoded there were reports of new separate schools being established at Ormskirk and Oldham. (65) Always most numerous in the metropolis, it had been at its most spectacular in the north. It had most of the advantages of the district school and few of its drawbacks; it had all the advantages of the workhouses apart from the latter's ever-present availability, and none of its disadvantages. It was inevitable, however, in as much as it was often a large school that it should be bracketed with the district school in criticisms of large agglomerations of children. Thus it suffered at the hands of the report of Mrs. Senior, at the hands of the Lords Select Committee in 1888, and at the hands of the Departmental Committee in 1896, along with its more notorious companion. The last mentioned report conceded that the separate school was generally smaller than the district school and that the guardians, having a much greater control, found it easier to adapt<sup>it</sup> to the changing requirements of modern education, but nevertheless added that all the dangers of massing pauper children could be found in the separate school only to a lesser degree than in the district school. (66) This judgement ignored the great academic success of the separate school but education had now come to mean something more than mere "schooling"; social as well as academic considerations were now involved, as the success of some of the certified schools had long since demonstrated.

## Chapter 6.    The Certified School.

"Some lady or group of ladies establish a nice little orphanage near their own homes, and look after it with the assistance of their neighbours."

Henley. S.C. (Lords) 1888 on Poor Relief. p.633.

The principle of guardians contracting with private persons for the maintenance of pauper children had, with one insignificant exception, <sup>(1)</sup> failed to survive the sensation caused in 1849 when "the grisly hand of Want, Disease and Death" snatched life from 150 pauper children <sup>(ii)</sup> kept by Drouett at his "paradise at Tooting." The reaction of the legislature to this tragedy was the act of 12 & 13 Victoria cap.13 "to provide more effective regulation and control over maintenance of the poor in houses not being <sup>(iii)</sup> workhouses." Though most of the contractors' schools soon

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i. This was Weekly's so called "Metropolitan Infirmary for Children" at Margate which catered for children requiring sea bathing as treatment for scrofula. Though the contracts made between Weekly and the guardians were sanctioned, the effective regulation of this establishment which housed over 100 children, under 12 & 13 Victoria cap.13, was not undertaken till March, 1880. See 2 P.L.B. p.17; 3 P.L.B. p.10 & 11; 4 P.L.B. p.10; 4 L.G.B. 1874-5 appx. 13 p.58; 9 L.G.B. 1879-80 p.lix.

ii. The case is described above p. 63. The quotations are from Dickens; The Examiner January 20th. and 27th. 1849 quoted in Collected Papers (Nonesuch Edition 1937) vol.I. p.202 and 193.

iii. Aubin's became the Central London District School and Drouett conveniently died.

disappeared the act remained, a purely regulatory enactment; it did not propose anything, an official pointed out, but merely recognised the practice and put it under supervision. (I) Nevertheless the principle of contracting was to reappear in a more acceptable form when bodies of people willing to relieve the guardians of groups of children on receipt of a small payment, came forward with motives far removed from the profit-making which had inspired Drouett and his colleagues. There were two classes of such school promoters: firstly the dissenting religious bodies -notably Roman Catholics- who were dissatisfied with the non-denominational upbringing supervised by a chaplain of the established church offered in the union schools. Secondly there were philanthropists, often ladies, wishing to provide for some at least of the army of pauper children (usually girls) an education more in keeping with the family atmosphere than massing in a pauper school would allow. They were also concerned with providing their chosen children with an industrial training more directly useful in the child's probable future career. The schools, or "homes" as they preferred to call them, founded by these philanthropists were, therefore, small since large numbers destroyed the family atmosphere. There were small homes founded by the religious bodies too, which were inspired by exactly the same ideals, but the typical religious foundation was a large school indistinguishable in organisation and technique from the existing poor law schools. Generally speaking, wh

the religious schools provided an alternative education, and the philanthropist homes an attempt at a superior education. It is to the credit of both groups that in addition they both tried to cope with the special educational needs -hitherto ignored by the poor law- of the physically and mentally defective.

Differences between the supporters of church and state rights in education had prevented the development of a general educational system. Nevertheless the state had been able to develop a system of schools for the children who were undeniably its educational responsibility. Pauper schools came from the acts of 1834 and 1844 (2), reformatory schools for young offenders came in 1854 (3), and industrial schools for vagrant, destitute and disorderly children came in 1857 (4). Under the Industrial Schools Act of 1857 guardians could send pauper children to such schools on payment of an agreed maintenance fee; inspection and certification was by the Committee of Council on Education and a minute of 31st. December, 1857, made these schools eligible for awards from the education grant.(5) Though not intended for pauper children, the Industrial Schools Act was to be of importance in the development of the pauper Certified School.

Of the two classes of school promoters, the philanthropists were the first in the field. The Workhouse Visiting Society, soon after its foundation in 1859, approached the Poor Law Board with a view to establishing a home for ex-

pauper girls temporarily out of a post, to avoid their having to return to the workhouse; the society envisaged proceeding under 12 & 13 Victoria cap. 13, the act designed to regulate institutions other than workhouses. The Poor Law Board refused to allow this on the grounds that, charitable institutions having been explicitly exempted from the act in question (the legislature not wishing to inflict government regulation upon such voluntary organisations), there was no legal authority for allowing the society to establish a home. (6) The Poor Law Board decision, interpreting a concessionary clause exempting charities from control as a prohibitive one excluding them from the field altogether, was debateable, to say the least; no less an authority than Nassau Senior thought that it was a faulty interpretation, (7) but clearly, unless challenged in the courts, the board's decision precluded any attempt to proceed further. As this decision became known, a Mrs. Emmeline Way was planning to start a home for the industrial training of pauper girls, so she decided to found her school under the auspices of the Industrial Schools Act of 1857. It will be recalled that this act contained a permissive clause allowing guardians to send individual pauper children to such schools, and Mrs. Way felt that this would enable her to call her school "Industrial", receiving all the benefits of registration under the act, and yet take only pauper children. This was hardly the intention of the legislature, but in 1859 Brockham Home at Bletchworth, near Reigate, Surrey

was founded. The home was able to take full advantage of public funds; Mrs. Way received the usual industrial school grants and for her children 3/- per head per week from the guardians. The girls' labour -laundry work- brought in a further £80 in a full year. In the first three years she took 48 girls and turned them out capable of earning such excellent wages as £5 to £8 per annum.

Mrs. Way, however, was careful to take only the best of the pauper children; only orphans (the best class of pauper child) were accepted and even then, as the case-histories show, she chose only the superior ones who had come from a higher class but whose families had suffered misfortune. If a child proved troublesome she was at once returned to the workhouse; once the Poplar Union sent her six girls and she sent four back declaring that if she had to take what was sent she would prefer to give up her certificate. Finally the 16 children in residence at a time <sup>(1)</sup> had the attention of two matrons and a school mistress in addition to the supervision of the foundress herself. (8)

A new fact was now brought into the situation; hitherto industrial schools were inspected and certified by the Committee of Council but a new industrial schools act, 23 & 24 Victoria cap.108, of 1860 placed all such

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1. In 1878 the roll was still 16. P.P. (48) 1878 lx p.3.



schools under the Home Office, and Committee of Council grants automatically ceased. (9) This change undoubtedly placed the industrial schools in a different light, for whilst even paupers had Committee of Council inspectors industrial school children were now placed under an authority which was responsible amongst other things for the prisons. This impression was confirmed by an act of the following session, the Industrial Schools Act, 1861 (10), which confirmed that the schools were now under the Home Office and pointed the moral by defining the class of child for whom they were intended, this including children who were found wandering or begging or who had been committed as being out of control. Clearly Mrs. Way's hand-picked orphans were not of this class. The clause permitting guardians to send pauper children to the schools was, however, retained so there was still some basis for Mrs. Way's anomalous use of the act. In an anonymous pamphlet she suggested that the best way out of the difficulty was to establish homes on an entirely voluntary basis and hope that the guardians would break the law by classing payments to such homes as outdoor relief. (11) Tufnell had the highest praise for the Brockham home: "Such schools as the Brockham home can train girls better than even district schools." This was high praise indeed from Tufnell, but ~~if~~ he doubted if, in the changed state of the law, it was legal for Mrs. Way to continue to run the home as an industrial school. (12) Care had been taken in the industrial school acts to ensure

that no school could be both industrial and reformatory, but Mrs. Way had shown that a further distinction was needed between industrial schools and privately-managed pauper schools. Eventually the anomaly was cleared up in the Industrial Schools Act, 1866 (13) which consolidated the acts for the whole kingdom. The general permissive clause to poor law guardians disappeared and was replaced by one permitting them to send to the industrial schools only certain children who had proved refractory in the poor law institution. By the time that this act was passed, however, fresh legislation had been introduced to regularise the position of homes such as that founded by Mrs. Way.

The legal difficulty which had compelled Mrs. Way to act under the industrial schools legislation was pointed out by the Royal Commission on Education in its report issued in 1860. (14) Tufnell too pointed out that now that the industrial schools had been ear-marked for the semi-criminal classes, any pauper children sent to one of these schools would be stigmatised.. He suggested that the law should be changed to allow a pauper child to be sent to any school whatsoever provided that it was inspected and certified efficient. (15) The result of this agitation was the act which enabled voluntary bodies to play an important part in pauper education during the rest of the century. The Poor Law (Certified Schools) Act of 1862 (16) at last provided a firm basis for the schools and homes founded by Mrs. Way and her friends. Religious groups were also to

find in the Certified Schools Act a firm basis for future action. The Roamn Catholics complained that their children were being proselytised in the pauper schools.(17) The 1861 to 1864 select committee on the poor laws heard much evidence upon this difficult question, and recommended the religious communities to set up under the act an alternative means of educating pauper children so that their religion would be safe-guarded. As there had been a suggestion that some guardians were inclined to ignore the conscience clauses,<sup>(1)</sup> the recommendation was that the Poor Law Board should be empowered to require the removal of children other than those of the established religion to certified schools under the 1862 act, or to industrial schools, of their own religion.

The act named the Poor Law Board as the certifying and inspecting authority. A parent's consent was necessary before a child could be sent to one of the schools and there were clauses stipulating that a child had to be brought up in his proper religion. Special schools for physical and mental defectives were included but reformatory schools were explicitly excluded. The act became law in July, 1862 and by the following May six schools, having 183 children in all, had been certified. Five of these trained girls for domestic service and the sixth was the Yorkshire

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1. One of them told the committee, "With regard to the children they are simply taught what the guardians believe to be the truth." S.C. (1864) Poor. p.23.

Institution for Instructing the Deaf and Dumb. (18) It seems to have been almost fashionable for philanthropically-minded ladies to establish certified homes for pauper children; Thackeray's daughter established one at Battersea, (19) and Henrietta Synnott had one at Clapham. (20) One of the oldest, after Mrs. Way's was Louisa Twining's in Great Ormond Street (21) which was eventually taken over by the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants. (22) The number of certified schools increased steadily; 10 years after the act there were 59 certified schools, 20 years after there were 171, and in 1896 there were 215. The number of children cared for in these schools increased proportionately: 391 in 1864, 1,873 in 1878, 3,642 in 1887 and 5,231 in 1896 or roughly one tenth of the total indoor children. This steady increase occurred at a time when the combined figure for attendance at poor law schools was falling, though the certified school was not the only agency concerned in removing children from poor law schools.

Numerically the most important certified schools were Roman Catholic. They were, however, rather slow in starting though this seems to have been due less to the tardiness of the Roman Catholic community than to the unwillingness of the guardians to utilise denominational foundations. The wording of the 1864 report's recommendations, already mentioned, seemed to indicate that pressure would have to be applied to some guardians. The first Roman Catholic school was certified in 1865 (23) but had little success with the

guardians. The "community of ladies" who had established a Roman Catholic certified school for girls at Norwood, wrote to the Metropolitan <sup>4</sup>guardians offering their services but had negative replies. (24) The guardians said they had difficulty in deciding the religion of some children, and the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1866 (25) decided by clause 14 that, on the authority of a parent, step-parent, the nearest adult relative, the next-of-kin or the Godparent, any child not of the established religion could, by application, be removed to a certified school of the appropriate denomination. Even this, however, left something to be desired, for the Roman Catholics complained that as up to 60% of the children were orphans, and since a large proportion of the Roman Catholic population was immigrant, an orphan would be left in a country where he was quite unknown, without relatives or Godparents. (26) The matter was therefore defined even more closely in the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1868 (27) which decided that all the regulations in the 1862 and 1866 acts with regard to the religion of children referred also to bastards, prime consideration being given to the mother's consent. In the case of orphans with none of the relatives mentioned in the 1866 act, the Poor Law Board decided to relieve guardians entirely of responsibility in these difficult cases and to make the decision itself. A return of metropolitan unions taken for December 1866 (28) had shown that only four Roman Catholic children had then been sent to certified

(1)  
 schools of their own religion; but now that the Poor Law Board was in a position to enforce its policy, applications poured in from guardians seeking to dispose of Roman Catholic children. (29) In 1878, of the 1,873 children in certified schools in the whole country, 1,048 were Roman Catholics, some of the Roman Catholic schools being then as large as  
 (11)  
 many poor law schools.

In one important respect certified schools were very different from contractors' schools; they were far from being profit-making. Mrs. Way received 3/- per head per week from the guardians towards the ~~the~~ 7/- per week cost of maintenance and this disproportion was continued under the Certified Schools Act. A return from the metropolis in 1880 (30) compared expenditure on maintenance in poor law schools  
 (iii)  
 and the amounts aid by guardians for children in certified schools; the poor law schools' costs ran from over £30 per annum to about half of that amount,  
 (iv)  
 whilst the certified schools, with one exception, were

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- i. "It has not been customary to inquire as to the religious persuasion of the poor persons relieved in the workhouse of this parish," was the answer from St. Pancras, indicating a procedure which, however illegal, saved the guardians considerable trouble.
  - ii. St. Mary's Orphanage, North Hyde, had 382 boys. St. Mary's House, Walthamstow had 150 girls.
  - iii. Loan repayments and interest were excluded.
  - iv. This being a Roman Catholic convalescent home where, owing to the nature of the services provided, the guardian paid £22-2-0 per head per annum.

charging the guardians anything from £16 to a little over £8 per head per annum. Private charity was clearly subventing the rates in the metropolis and evidence from the provinces led to a similar conclusion. (31) The philanthropists made up the difference from subscriptions and endowments (32) whilst the religious bodies called upon the resources of their church; the Roman Catholics drew funds from Belgium <sup>(1)</sup> in particular (33). Even when guardians were willing to pay more to the certified schools, there were legal difficulties in the way. The 1862 certified schools act allowed them to pay what would have been charged for the child's maintenance, had he stayed in the workhouse; unfortunately it was decided that this meant, as the law stood in 1862, only such sums as were assignable to the parish under section 26 of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, and not the sums chargeable to the union under section 28 of the same act, such as rent of the building, salaries of staff, etc. In brief the guardians were allowed to pay the certified schools for the children's clothes, food and little else. By an anomaly, however, if the child was sent by order of the poor law department, the amount to be paid was stipulated and this was usually much nearer the real cost of the child's keep. A solution

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1. The Belgian connection was prominent. The main R.C. school for boys -North Hyde- was run by a Belgian order of brothers; MS Report by Tufnell and Markham April 1869 I7456/69 MH 32/I08/Tufnell. when that school became full a new school -St.Charles' South Weald- was also run by a Belgian order. I5 L.G.B. 1885-6 appx. I8 p.45.

was not produced till section I3 of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1882 (34) allowed the Local Government Board to stipulate a maximum sum which each school could charge; the guardians were then free to make what bargain they wished within this limit. (35) Naturally the Board's figures varied with the services provided; in 1886 a day nursery for orphans was allowed to charge £11-14-0 per head per annum and a deaf and dumb school £25. (36) In 1894 rates varied from £8 to £18 approximately for ordinary cases and from less than £16 to over £31 for the blind, idiots etc. (37) The Westminster Diocesan authorities made an agreement to cover all the Roman Catholic schools under its control at £15-12-0 per annum, (38) a sum which, the Departmental Committee reported, did not fairly represent the cost and which was not paid by some guardians. (39)

A return of 1878 gives an overall picture of the certified schools; (40) of the 77 schools listed, 37 were industrial and training institutions, 16 were for the blind, 11 for deaf and dumb and the same number for orphans whilst 2 were devoted to ~~id~~ idiots. Of the total of 1,873 children listed in the return a large proportion, 1,057, were girls, a reflection of the great enthusiasm of lady workers in the sphere of social welfare. The establishment of certified homes for the special cases of the mentally and physically defective is worthy of notice. This had been further encouraged by a section of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1868 (41) which permitted guardians to send defective



children to a school which was not certified under the Certified Schools Act of 1862, provided that permission was obtained from the Poor Law Board. This permissive clause brought into the consideration of guardians many establishments for the defective classes which hitherto they had been compelled to ignore.

The least satisfactory part of the working of the certified school system lay in the inspection. All schools were, of course, inspected initially in order to become certified but no further inspections occurred except, by an unexplained convention, in the case of a few Roman Catholic schools. The first appearance of an inspection, other than the initial certifying inspection, came in 1869 when the Poor Law Board sent Tufnell and Dr. Markham to ascertain whether the Roman Catholic certified schools in the vicinity of the metropolis could accommodate the many children guardians were seeking to send. <sup>(1)</sup> This ad hoc inspection of the Roman Catholic schools may well have established the custom of inspecting a few of the Roman Catholic schools only. Perhaps too, the fact that these schools tended to be large and thus liable to the dangers inherent in large agglomerations of children <sup>(11)</sup> may have influenced the authorities. At the end of the seventies the Local Government Board seems to have decided to regularise certain weaknesses in its arrangements for safeguarding

1. The report was able to assure the Board that the fasting and abstinence rules were not severe. MS I7456/69 MH32/108

11. A small-pox epidemic killed 3 children at St. Joseph's school Manchester in 1888. P.P.(422) 1888 lxxxvi.

children not being maintained in pauper institutions; the order regulating Weekly's Margate establishment came in 1880 and in the reports of the Board for 1878-9 (42) and 1879-80 (43) mention was made for the first time of the inspections of Roman Catholic schools. Regular inspection of a few of the larger Roman Catholic schools around the metropolis began in this way in 1879. The custom of inspecting the certified schools spread to the north in the early 1890s but again the convention that Roman Catholic schools only should be inspected was observed. In his report for 1892, Moxley reported on three certified Roman Catholic schools in his district (45) and mentioned them again next year (46) adding that although there were ten such schools in his area he inspected three only since the others sent their children out to school. Eventually the number of certified schools being inspected in this manner reached 23, all being Roman Catholic; the rest of the Roman Catholic schools and all other certified schools were left without inspection and when the inspection of poor law schools was handed over to the Board of Education in 1904 the convention was maintained. (47) The education department was unable to say, in 1906, why it inspected these 23 Roman Catholic schools and no others; even the redoubtable authors of the Minority Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws were unable to find an explanation. (48) It appears then, that the majority of the certified schools were never visited by the inspectors of workhouse schools, X

but where the <sup>t</sup>certified schools sent their children out to the elementary schools, the education department inspectors would, of course, examine these children in the ordinary way. It also appears that the general poor law inspectors occasionally visited certified schools but only to see that the children were properly fed and clothed and that the cubic and superficial space was sufficient. (49)

To sum up the distinction made at the outset must be reiterated; there were large schools providing an option to the district and separate schools and these were almost wholly Roman Catholic. There were also small training homes designed to give a practical training in a family atmosphere and these were mostly for girls. The first group had all the faults of the large poor law schools plus a few peculiar to itself. Often its teachers were of a better class though sometimes they were foreigners of doubtful value in educating young paupers. Be that as it may a high moral tone was usually imparted. The customs of a religious order were sometimes an impediment as, for example, in the case of the men's orders which were prevented from having a woman for the supervision of the sick quarters. The Departmental Committee of 1894-6 reported all these characteristics of the Roman Catholic school and also found the industrial side of the education defective; it considered that the standards of equipment and cleanliness were below that in pauper schools. (50) The other type of school, the industrial home, was a much smaller undertaking. The

Departmental Committee found much to praise in these establishments for the small scale of all the arrangements made the work and community life approximate to that of the family, and gave the child a much better idea of the type of work she would get as a family servant. Their very diversity was an advantage since guardians could choose one suited to the particular child's requirements. The committee pointed out, however, that there was plenty of scope for extending these institutions on the boy's side. They were, of course, eminently suitable for the specialised treatment required by defectives. The one drawback was the lack of inspection and the committee was able to quote the case of the matron of one of these institutions punishing her children by touching their lips with nettles. (51) The decision of the Departmental Committee was non-committal in the case of the Roman Catholic schools, apart from the belief that they should be kept to a small size; the small industrial homes received full approval.

The efforts of both sets of school sponsors had saved the rate-payers considerable sums, <sup>(1)</sup> but the smaller schools had, in addition, pioneered a new and less artificial method of bringing up pauper children. The guardians were too absorbed in their large institutions, so the Departmental

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1. Henley, a Local Government Board inspector, pointed this out in the case of Birmingham which had 150 children taken off its hands by the Roman Catholic authorities at 5/- per head per week when the cottage homes (which were full) were costing the guardians 7/- per head per week. The Roman Catholic offer, Henley commented, was a good one especially in view of the fact that extra building would have to be undertaken to accommodate these children in poor law institutions. S.C.(Lords) 1888 on Poor, p.56.

Committee believed, to explore new paths and this most necessary task was ably done by these tiny institutions up and down the country. The Webbs have criticised the certified school as "an evasion, not a solution, of the problem." (52) This judgement is not surprising for the certified school must have been regarded by the Webbs as an anomaly; here was a private venture caring for children who were a public responsibility, half-subsidised yet half-independent, half-autonomous yet half-regulated. There is much to be said, however, for the view that social problems are best tackled, not with a master plan, but broadly, with diversity of method allowing full play for a multitude of social forces. Seen thus the certified school was an interesting experiment in the field of social administration, and extremely fruitful in the reform of pauper education.

Chapter 7. Alternative Methods.

"The Board will watch the experiment with the greatest interest, but with some anxiety."

P.L.B. to Evesham Union 22 P.L.B. 1869-70 appx.2 p.5.

The central poor law authorities were never at a loss for advice from the general public as to how the relief of destitution should be carried out. So many ridiculous schemes <sup>(1)</sup> were put forward that the department became sceptical of any suggestions which did not originate within itself. Nevertheless some of the outside suggestions were extremely valuable and their eventual acceptance by the department marked a great advance. So far the methods described have been based upon concentrating the children; the methods described in this chapter, mostly suggested by outsiders, all depended upon the principle of dispersal.

First in time was the device used between 1835 and 1837 of persuading paupers in the south of England to migrate to the industrial centres of the north where mushrooming factories were short of labour. The authorities encouraged this movement by permitting guardians to pay the cost of passages north in the case of suitable pauper

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1. George Bazly, for example, thought that the children of the working classes became so depraved through sleeping in rooms occupied by adults of both sexes that the only way of dealing with the problem was for the P.L.C. to rear them in asylums apart from their parents. MS. to P.L.C. 5th. March, 1841. MH 25/I.

families. Most migrants left from London and the usual mode of conveyance was the canal boat. The boats left the City Basin at Paddington every evening except Sunday, the fare to Manchester being fourteen shillings for adults, half price for those under fourteen and no charge for infants less than one year old. The journey took four to five days, each family being allowed 100 cwt. of luggage and being expected to provide its own food. (1) It is clear then that a southern union saddled with the maintenance of a large destitute family would find it very economical to subsidise such a migration northwards.

The historian of labour migration in this period tells us that poor law migration was but a fraction of the total; (2) this fraction is, however, for present purposes since a large part of it was child migration. An initial investigation leading to the adoption of the migration policy had been carried out in the north by Dr. Kay and he, from the very first, pointed out that it was the children that the manufacturers wanted not the parents -the child was "exceedingly more valuable to the manufacturers than the man." (3) The large family, therefore, especially that of the widow, was preferred by the manufacturers, and the guardians too favoured sending the most numerous families north. Jobs could not be found in the north for adult men and this often deterred them; some were fortunate like the Kentish migrator who got a job following two horses for the owner of the factory and found that "the children"

love the factory better than we expected.\* (4) A typical case was that of William Bayley who existed at Princes Risborough in Buckinghamshire with his family of ten upon an allowance from the parish of sixteen shillings per week. He migrated to Stayley Bridge, seven miles from Manchester, and there earned twelve shillings per week which was supplemented by the earnings of five of his children to a total of 42/6 per week. (5) We may note that it was the children who made the migration economically desirable. Factory legislation naturally affected this flow of human traffic. The 1833 act took effect in 1836 and by reducing the amount of labour which the manufacturers could get out of the existing staff caused an increased demand for hands. The educational provisions of the act affected the class of child sought by the employers; since the act did not require education for those over 12 the owners of cotton wool and flax factories generally preferred children over that age. Silk mills were not controlled by the act, however, and the owners preferred children from the age of eight upwards. (6) In all cases it was still the children whom the manufacturers wished to recruit. Skilful performance of mechanical tasks at high speed was best achieved by those who had been brought up to it; furthermore a boy of 12 could do a week's work for as little as 4/6 and a girl of 15 for only 6d. more, (7) The employment of the parent was always a difficulty, and there still remained in the southern union houses those children without



a parent to take them north. In 1836 the Royston Union in Hertfordshire made an innovation designed to meet both of these difficulties; a pauper widow with three children of her own was despatched to an employer in Westmorland with a party of children from the union workhouse. The employers agreed to pay the widow to maintain and clothe the children who would work in the factory. A further group was sent in charge of a married couple and it was said that this system had the advantage of providing adequate guardianship for the children whilst they gained enough skill to render themselves independent once their contract was finished.(8)

The Poor Law Commissioners regarded the migration project as important enough to appoint two agents, Muggeridge in Lancashire and Baker in Yorkshire, to take charge of local arrangements. As the depression deepened, however, the demand for labour fell off and by 1837 the movement of pauper children to the industrial areas had ceased. As far as we are concerned in the present study, it is sufficient to note that some hundreds, perhaps thousands, of children were, by this means, removed from the province of the poor law. If the measure of security afforded was small, the opportunity for eventual advancement was great in the case of a few. When the demand for labour again arose in the north, the central poor law authority refused to give the revived scheme its blessing. In 1846 a Stockport firm wished to encourage destitute families to move thither but the Poor Law Commissioners advised the Towcester Union that

the guardians must take no active steps in moving any families though they might give the firm access to the paupers. (9)

The arguments applied to migration were applied a fortiori to emigration. There were, however, a few differences; in the first place it was difficult to persuade the poor to undertake the perils of a long sea journey; their apprehensions were not mollified by the realisation that the plan was very similar to transportation. The expense of an emigration was naturally much greater but a union was fortified by the thought that the payment was certainly the last in regard to that pauper since there was no chance of him being returned to his parish settlement. Emigration had been practised under the old poor law and the Royal Commission recommended that unions should be allowed to expend funds to this end. The Poor Law Amendment Act included such a provision in section 62 which was further developed in the Poor Law Amendment Acts of 1844, 1849, and 1850. With ~~the~~ regard to the emigration of children it will be convenient to divide the account into two parts, the first of which ends in 1870.

The central authorities insisted upon each board of guardians seeking permission before proceeding with any proposed emigration. The figures quoted in this chapter are those of officially approved emigrations. Some boards, and in particular those erected under local acts, carried out illegal emigrations by private arrangements with

(1) contractors. In the first ten years of the new poor law the number of pauper children officially emigrating ranged between 300 and 600 per annum. (10) In 1845, however, the bounty scheme to Australia ended and the total emigration figures began to fall; in 1846 only 108 children emigrated. The shortage of women servants in Australia caused the Land Emigration Commissioners in 1848 to offer a special incentive to educated pauper girls by offering a free passage to any suitable candidate presented at the port of embarkation with an outfit and five pounds. (11) Events in Australia, the mineral deposit discoveries, soon led to an even steeper rise in the graph. The Poor Law Amendment Act 1849 (12) also helped by giving guardians more freedom over spending the rates on emigration. The peak came in 1852 when 1,452 children emigrated in one year. (13) When the traffic was at its height, guardians were having pauper children taken to Australia for ten shillings and we may note in passing the regulation that "mattresses and feather beds will in no case be taken." (14) Tufnell saw this as a wonderful opportunity for solving the whole question; he recommended sending all the orphans to Australia where the colonists would erect district schools and maintain the children. The sole expense to the home

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1. One such case, in which the St. Pancras authorities arranged with Capt. Burrows of the brig "James" to take children to Bermuda, was raised in parliament.  
P.P. (243) 1851.

country would be the fitting out and the passage whilst the colonists would be able to train the children in the manner they desired. (15) Fortunately for the colonists it was decided not to allow the poor rate to be expended upon further emigration to Australia since there was now a sufficient amount of voluntary and independent emigration. (16) The result was that in 1853, in contrast to the enormous figure of the year before, only 227 children emigrated. (17) Henceforth emigration was authorised only in special cases and the numbers stayed low up to 1870; rarely does the annual figure run into three figures and occasionally it falls to one. The central authorities were loathe to endorse applications; "We must consider that at present emigration cannot be considered as any practical remedial measure for the repression of pauperism." (18) In the whole of the period 1856 to 1860 the Poor Law Board turned down 21 of the 77 applications received from the metropolis for permission to initiate emigrations. (19)

Most pauper emigrants <sup>in this period</sup> went to Australia. An analysis of the total pauper emigration for 1852 (including adults) reveals the following distribution:-

Canada	551	
New Brunswick	3	
Australia	2,712	
New Zealand	5	(20)

New Zealand was usually better represented; in the previous year, for example, it had attracted 99 pauper emigrants. (21) In some years a few found their way to the South African

colonies. The notable exception is, of course, the United States. The large emigration from Britain to the United States did not include officially sponsored paupers since the United States' government asked the poor law authorities not to support such emigrations. (22) Presumably the expanding frontier required men and women of stock more enterprising than that reared within the walls of a poor law institution.

The period after 1870 brought a new type of child emigration. The usual destination was now Canada and the orphan or deserted children, rather than children with parents, were the main concern. Canada was favoured - if that be the term - because it offered the shortest, and therefore the cheapest, journey. Orphan and deserted children were preferred because the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1850 allowed such children to be taken abroad once consent had been given before a Justice of the Peace. The hitherto strict control over emigration was allowed to lapse in 1869, since the Poor Law Board believed that the small amount of emigration which still continued was adequately covered by the Passenger Acts of 1855 and 1863 (23) The Board no doubt believed that the small trickle would continue or even peter out; Miss Rye, a lady inspired with a zeal for populating the colonies, thought otherwise. She already had some experience of adult emigration, having founded the Female Middle Class Emigration Society. In 1869 she decided to turn her attention to child paupers and

opened her campaign with a letter to The Times on March 29th., 1869. The pauper boys had, she felt, sufficient outlet in the army and the navy, so she concentrated upon the girls. Seven months after the publication of her letter she was at sea en route for Canada with 95 people including 68 girls and 8 boys, the majority of whom came from the Kirkdale pauper school at Liverpool. She established a reception home in Canada in what had formerly been the county prison at Niagara, and a further home at Peckham where children were prepared for emigration. (24) Year by year Miss Rye and her supporters led groups across the Atlantic; the effect of her methods upon some schools was remarkable. In May, 1870, T.B. Browne visited the Bristol workhouse and saw 109 boys, 63 girls and 58 infants; when he returned in December, 1871, there were 34, 34 and 40 respectively, Miss Rye having paid a visit in the meantime and spirited the children off to Canada. (25) Miss Rye had her imitators, notably Miss McPherson, but also Mrs. Middlemore of Birmingham, and Cardinal Manning with his Catholic Emigration Committee. (26) By 1875 Miss Rye alone had been responsible for the emigration of 727 girls and 160 boys from pauper schools, 120 of whom had come from Kirkdale. (27) A halt was called in 1875 because the Local Government Board had sent Andrew Doyle, one of its inspectors, to Canada to report upon the arrangements made by Miss Rye for the after care of the children. Doyle's report (28) of <sup>December</sup> ~~September~~ 1874 was far from favourable. He advised that closer

supervision was required both on the voyage and in Canada, and suggested that the scheme should be discontinued unless some means of supervision by the Canadian government could be arranged. Many of Doyle's criticisms were later shown to be unjustified; like his fellow inspectors, he viewed with apprehension a scheme which might well render him redundant. Browne felt that Miss Rye's activities increased the rates and deranged the labour market; (29) Holgate regarded emigration as a solution fit for the few that would do well in any case. (30) Bowyer thought that the shortage of female labour at home made Miss Rye's efforts superfluous. (31) Despite the ensuing controversy the Board had to accept the implications of Doyle's report. (32) "We have not felt justified in affording official encouragement to the efforts of Miss Rye, however zealous and well intentioned they may be," wrote the Board in its report for 1876-7. (33) Henceforth emigrations were allowed only when the guardians placed the child with a definite family. The flood once more became a trickle and for the next few years no more than 20 or 30 children per year crossed the Atlantic.

Miss Rye did not accept the administration's ruling without resistance. By 1876 she had presented to the President of the Local Government Board a full report upon all the children she had helped to emigrate, together with 500 photographs and many letters from the children themselves. Excerpts from this report were printed and issued as Synopsis of a report on Emigration of pauper and other children to

Canada. She refuted Doyle's charge that she had made a profit out of the undertaking. Doyle issued a further letter which, together with Miss Rye's statement, was presented to the House of Commons. (34) Meanwhile Miss Rye continued to emigrate non-pauper children until the Local Government Board, in 1883, decided to re-open the emigration of pauper children under limited conditions. (35) The Canadian government agreed to inspect the children in the homes Miss Rye found for them and it was on the understanding that she would keep the Canadian government informed of the whereabouts of the children that the Local Government Board permitted the reintroduction of the scheme. It was also insisted that any child taken out of the country should have had at least six months in a workhouse or district school. In the first year of the restarted scheme, 133 children crossed the Atlantic; when the reports from the Canadian government failed to come through for a short time, the emigrations were temporarily stopped. (36) Gradually the numbers increased until, in 1888, 596 children were transplanted. The numbers, in the period 1883 to 1896, ranged between 200 and 400 per year for the most part, and the total pauper child emigration for the same period was 4,213. (37)

Sometimes the threat of emigration was sufficient to get children removed from the poor book. On one occasion the Dewsbury guardians advertised the names of 18 children whom it was proposed to send to Canada.



Immediately hitherto unknown relatives offered to take 15 of the children and the guardians felt that it was not worth while continuing with the intended emigration in the case of the remaining three. (38) The United States maintained its objection to pauper immigrants; it even protested against the limited help hitherto afforded by the poor law authorities in conveying paupers to the ports before casting them upon their own resources for the voyage to the land of promise. (39) The Roman Catholic authorities continued their efforts but emigrated only elder boys ready to work on arrival, and did not attempt the emigration of girls at all. (40)

The 1888 and 1896 poor law inquiries both favoured emigration as a means of solving the pauper child question. The 1888 Select Committee (Lords) felt that it was "certainly a very cheap way for guardians to dispose of the children." (41) The Departmental Committee of 1896 noted that the guardians used the scheme but little, though it was "the most economical method of providing for the children of the state"; the committee felt justified in "urging the development and extension of the system." (42) As a final word let it be noted that emigration was not concerned with the education of the children though reputable emigration agencies did, in fact, maintain training schools on either side of the Atlantic. The main aim was to place the child in an environment where shortage of labour would make cottagers willing to take -and even adopt- <sup>him or her</sup> ~~a pauper child~~

as a help in running a home or business. It was an excellent short-cut to independence but the total number of children involved was small enough to have little over-all influence in England and Wales. Though guardians were attracted by its economy and its permanence, they had to find other ways of dealing with the problem. The child had, somehow, to be edged into the working class community in Britain itself, and we turn now to a method which, above all others, achieved this end.

Even more than emigration, boarding out owed much to the work of non-official social workers. It consisted of billeting a pauper child upon suitable foster parents who, in return for a small allowance from the guardians, cared for the child, fed him and sent him to the local elementary school. Here was a system, its supporters claimed, as old as the problem itself; was not Moses so reared, and Romulus and Remus, to say nothing of many a baby in fairy tale and myth? Christ's words, "Suffer little children....." were used to good effect and one clergyman preached a sermon on the subject taking the text "God setteth the solitary in families." (Psalm 68 v. vi) (43) The advantages of this system were said to be legion; it was economical, the child being entirely maintained at a few shillings per week; it kept the child away from the workhouse and thus saved him from the taint of pauperism; the child was brought up in a home and had all the benefits of this most natural of all forms of up-bringing; when the

child was out of a job in later years he often returned to the place where he was reared instead of the workhouse to tide him over a difficult period. Above all, the child was brought up and educated with other working class children. Some critics seemed to find fault in the fact <sup>that</sup> the foster parents were taking the child for money and suggested that cheeseparing would ensue. Perhaps the soundest objection was the claim that, by the very nature of the scheme, only the best children could be boarded out; such children would do well in any case and they were sorely needed inside the pauper institutions to give backbone to the schools. Guardians were influenced by the economy of the scheme unless they were saddled with large buildings which they had to fill; in the latter case they tended to decry boarding out since it reduced the numbers in the institutions and therefore put up the per capita cost of maintaining the remainder.

A distinction should be drawn between "within the union" and "without the union" boarding out. Guardians were free to improvise as they wished within the framework of the poor law statutes and regulations, <sup>but</sup> a child could not be sent beyond the union boundaries without permission. Thus guardians wishing to board children out within the boundaries of the union were, therefore, free to do so. Unfortunately, populous unions in a built up area would not have suitable homes within their union, and the system was little used in urban areas before the boarding out orders

allowed guardians to place children beyond the union boundary. Since boarding out within the union was not regulated statistics were not kept; in 1873, 2,095 children were boarded out in this manner and, in 1887, when regular returns began there were 2,105, a figure which gradually increased till by 1896, there were 4,072. (44) Two unions in particular experimented with boarding out within the union, the Eton Union and the Bath Union, and both published accounts of the working of the scheme in the late sixties. (45) Further evidence was available in reports from Scotland where boarding out was used almost exclusively, with what appeared to great success. All the evidence in favour of boarding out was collected together by Florence Davenport Hill<sup>(1)</sup> who published Children of the State in 1868; she wished to transform the small "within the union" movement into a much more widespread system which would allow guardians to send children far beyond the boundaries of the union to wherever suitable homes might be found. A memorial from 3000 ladies, organised by Miss Annette Preusser of Windermere, pressed upon the President of the Poor Law Board the advantages of boarding out beyond the union, (46)<sup>(11)</sup> and in November, 1869, Henley, a poor law inspector, was sent to Scotland to investigate boarding out. His report was favourable, though he doubted whether England would find as many suitable homes as were available in

Scotland. (47)

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1. She adopted "Davenport" to avoid confusion with Octavia Hill  
ii. Not, be it noted, an inspector of workhouse schools.

Meanwhile a pilot experiment was authorised for Evesham (48) not without over-cautious forebodings: "We quite believe that the system, if well conducted, is likely to benefit pauper children in the highest degree, but if not watched with unremitting care, abuses of a deplorable character might easily surround it, and result in moral and social evils of the greatest magnitude." (49) At this point Miss Preusser arranged with the Bethnal Green Union to take pauper children and billet them upon local cottagers in Windermere, the union agreeing to pay the usual maintenance fee. The Poor Law Board was, however, unwilling for a third party to enter into the contract as this smacked somewhat of the farming out system. Miss Preusser rose to the occasion, however, and took six children without payment; since no payment was involved, Poor Law Board control ceased. (50)

The situation was regularised by a general order issued at the end of 1870 permitting the boarding out of pauper children beyond the union. (51) Boarding out within the union was still uncontrolled but the order carried with it the threat that this type would also be regulated if guardians used unsuitable homes. Voluntary committees had to undertake the inspection of all children boarded out beyond the union. In November 1885 this inspection by voluntary workers was supplemented by that of a full-time Local Government Board inspector, Miss M.H. Mason. Eventually boarding out within the union was also

brought under control<sup>r</sup> by a further order of 10th. September, 1887 and from that date onward reliable statistics are available for the total numbers of children boarded out. In 1887 there were 2,105 boarded out within the union and 1,172 outside making a total of 3,277; both figures steadily increased until there were 5,905 children boarded out in 1896, 4,072 of them within and 1,833 outside the union. (52) The 1896 figure, however, represents (1) no more than 10% of the total indoor child pauper population. In practice the scheme could never cope with the majority of a union's pauper children for those with parents, the casuals and the defectives could rarely be boarded out. As an ancillary service it was invaluable; when guardians were so disposed, they sent a few children to foster parents but for the bulk the institution remained. The actual expenditure upon the child boarded out was small; four to six shillings per week was usual and in 1888 the average in England was £11-5-0 per child per annum. (53)

Success depended upon the efficiency of the local voluntary visiting committees; voluntary effort was here no adjunct to an official service but an essential part of it. Nassau Senior had long since pointed out that charitable movements were prone to degenerate once the

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1. The return (354) 1878 lxiv does not give a reliable figure for boarded out children, apart from column I. The enormous total of 8,874 children maintained out of the workhouse contains many others in addition to those boarded out. See 10 L.G.B. 1880-I appx.35 p.173.

initial enthusiasm and the original organisers disappeared, (54) and cases of boarded out children being misused on account of the laxity of what some critics, following a Times leader, called "amateur supervision" (55) were widely reported. Doyle was able to show how the system had broken down in the Swansea Union where children were "boarded out" in lodging houses or billeted with pauper relatives, (56) and Miss Mason in her personal visits to the children soon uncovered such irregularities as the bruises inflicted upon the Chelsea children boarded out "in the sylvan seclusion of Gestingthorpe" which led to their being withdrawn to the district school. (57)

With the exception of Mozley the inspectors were far from favourable towards boarding out; like emigration it threatened their positions for the more it was used, the emptier the workhouse schools became. Nevertheless they had two good arguments which warranted an answer; the inspection arrangements were far from satisfactory, and the children lost those additional educational advantages which, it was held, they needed to help them on in a world prejudiced against the pauper "brat". The appointment of Miss Mason was, in part, an answer to the first objection though the supervision which Miss Mason was able to give to visiting committees<sup>(1)</sup> throughout England and Wales was limited. There were two sides to the educational argument;

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1. There were 171 in 1893. F.D.Hill Economic Journal 111  
1893 p.67.

first the children lost the benefit of the specialised industrial training which had become a feature of the best pauper education, and secondly the secession of the boarded out children (always the best) ruined the school. In one rural union the guardians boarded out all the best children and left the first-rate school mistress with 28 children, mostly casuals drifting in and out of the workhouse; 16 were illegitimate, 1 was ill-treated by his father, 2 had been boarded out but had been returned by the foster parents, 1 was blind, another deaf, 4 had parents in the asylum and 2 were semi-idiots. (58) Such occurrences did little to help the difficult problem of recruiting good teachers for pauper schools; as Tufnell remarked, what worthwhile teacher would remain where the best children were removed and the worst kept? (59) He might have added that a fall in the school roll also brought a reduction in the teacher's salary.

The phenomenon (as some regarded it) of adoption is worthy of notice. The only evidence available comes from the north. This was not the philanthropic action of the well to do, for mostly it was tradesmen, labourers and colliers (60) who adopted children from the workhouse. "This is the boarding out system free of expense," (61) wrote Mozley, and mentioned cases at Stockport, Blackburn and North Brierly near Bradford. Naturally there was no official control over such children once they were adopted



and they could be taken out of the workhouse at any age; after adoption they were educated (if at all) in the ordinary elementary schools. One of the inspectors was not satisfied that this anomalous system safeguarded the child sufficiently, and he told a meeting of guardians that they had a moral responsibility to look after the child until he was old enough to take care of himself. (62) There could be no doubt that some tradesmen would find the system useful as a means of gaining a cheap assistant, but it would be ungenerous not to recognise the same sentiment as that which inspired the reformers of the middle and upper classes.<sup>(i)</sup>

Boarding out had a vociferous body of supporters whose importance lay not so much in the numbers of children they succeeded in boarding out but in the educational work which they carried on amongst the poor law authorities. Their propaganda, together with the work of Mrs. Senior (one of their number), brought a new spirit into the treatment of poor law children. Henceforth they were considered as children rather than paupers, requiring the intangible amenities of family life not the soul-less efficiency of the well-run institution. The "cottage home" system was an interesting attempt at gaining the benefits of boarding out whilst retaining the security of the institutional framework. The children were divided into small groups, each of which lived in a separate house under a foster parent.

The group principle was not a new one; Mettray, an  
 (i) An act of 1889 (52 & 3 Victoria cap 56) allowed guardians officially to adopt the children of vicious parents.

institute in Belgium for the reclamation of delinquent youth, had long operated upon this principle, and was well known in Great Britain. As early as 1852 Joseph Fletcher, an inspector of schools, had published an account of the workings of the Mettray system and had suggested that it was applicable to conditions in England. (63) Nothing came of his suggestions, however, until the boarding out campaign and the strictures contained in Mrs. Senior's report again brought to the public mind the idea of treating the children as individuals instead of in the mass, and he was able to issue a revised version of his article as a pamphlet in 1878. Andrew Doyle, a poor law inspector, produced a second opinion upon Mettray after a visit in 1873. He persuaded the guardians at Merthyr Tydvil, Neath and Bridgend, Swansea and Cowbridge to eschew the district school idea which they were considering, and pressed upon them the advantages of a village built on the Mettray plan for the pauper children. (64) Unfortunately Swansea preferred boarding out, but Doyle, after showing how neglected some of the boarded out children were, (65) again recommended the village plan. (66) Eventually all the unions in the original scheme built cottage homes, though they did not combine to do this (67) ; with Pontypool and Birmingham (68) they were amongst the first unions to adopt the system though it had for some time been employed in charitable institutions such as Princess Mary's Schools, Croydon. (69) Meanwhile the populous Kensington Union,

soon to be united to Chelsea to form a new school district, was moving towards the cottage home solution (70) and the Local Government Board decided that a special report upon the system was required. This was favourable (71) and to make each cottage as like a real home as possible, the authors recommended mixing the sexes within each, at least in the case of younger children.

Most spectacular of all the cottage home projects was the 27 acre village built at Banstead, Surrey by the Kensington and Chelsea school district. When, after four years of planning and building, the school opened in September 1880 it had already cost £73,650 and by 1894 this had become £100,000. (72) The children lived in twenty cottages facing each other across a street  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile long, each in a fenced off plot with a garden in front and a playground behind. (73) The boys were 36 to a cottage under a "mother" and "father", the latter being an instructor for some trade in the school, whilst the girls, 24 to a cottage, had a "mother" only. Infants were accommodated in the girls' cottages. In addition to the cottages there was a chapel, a house for the teachers, a school block with industrial workshops, an infirmary and hospital, a "commodious residence" for the superintendent and the matron, a block of probation wards and rooms where visiting relatives could interview children. (74) Later it was found necessary to add a laundry since, contrary to expectations, child labour alone failed to cope with the large quantities of washing produced

by a small village, and also a covered-in swimming bath. (75) Each cottage had gas and hot water. (76) There was also a probationary school at Hammersmith which filtered the children before they ever reached the probationary wards at Banstead. It is not surprising therefore that Holgate called the whole project a "costly experiment." (77)

There can be no doubt that whatever the cost or drawbacks of the cottage home system, the children were better off than in the large district schools or the workhouse schools. Byam Davies, another inspector, declared that the "bright and happy appearance" of the cottage home children was very noticeable; they appeared to be a different race to the workhouse school children. (78) Something approaching a home atmosphere was obtained and the children picked up the details of domestic life which they seemed to miss in the usual type of large institution. Health was better, perhaps because food was more varied and helpings could be altered at the "mother's" discretion, not being regulated by the impersonal requirements of a scientifically calculated dietary. Recruiting suitable foster parents was not easy and stand-in foster parents had to be kept available.

There was, however, no lack of criticism. A Times correspondent (79) thought that the whole claim of providing a family atmosphere was sham, for few real families could muster 30 children; the children in cottage homes changed, and so did the foster parents; boys were

brought up separate from the girls and food was drawn from the stores not purchased in shops. Expense was the main drawback, however; in a return giving the cost per head of the maintenance of each child for the metropolitan district the Kensington and Chelsea District, with £30-17-0 for the year to Lady Day 1880 was the most expensive. (80) This figure excludes interest on capital loans and seems to contradict the contention of the 1896 committee (81) that though the initial costs of cottage homes were higher, day to day maintenance was not. As time went by they tended to become even more costly; "the original idea of a cottage home was a real cottage", an expert official witness told the 1906-9 Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, "but the cottage has now become a villa." (82) Cottage homes on a less lavish scale naturally cost less than the Banstead village; the excellent Marston Green homes for Birmingham, where the children in each "detached Gothic cottage of red brick" (83) did all their own washing, managed to keep the children for an expenditure on all heads (including the cost of the building) of a little over £21 per child per annum. (84) Yet in 1888 the maximum cost of ordinary boarding out was £13 per annum and the average for England and Wales was only £11-5-0. (85) The cottage home solution was thus by far the most expensive of the new methods and offered little or no saving when compared with the district school. It was more expensive than most efficient workhouse schools. This no doubt influenced the Select Committee of the Lords in 1888

which preferred boarding out to cottage homes. (86)

A further variation upon the cottage home theme was still to be played, however, when the Sheffield guardians began in 1896 to experiment with what they called "scattered homes." These were smaller cottage homes situated in ordinary working class houses within the union. The children lived there with a foster mother, mixed with other children, and went to the School Board school. Considerable saving was made since the educational side was passed to the local education authority, and the ancillary services were much smaller than those required for a whole self-sufficient village. As far as possible the guardians utilised the ordinary public services and furthered the policy of integrating the pauper child into the social fabric of the country. The recommendations of the 1896 committee were clearly in favour of this type of cottage home as against the village community type; it advised that where practicable there should be no more than two cottages together, they should be near settled habitation and 15 should be the maximum number of children in any cottage. (87) The findings of this committee and the consequent attack upon the large schools led to a rapid development of the cottage homes in both forms, grouped and scattered. A report of 1908 gives an idea of the important part they then played in pauper upbringing by showing that out of 60,421 indoor pauper children on the 1st. January, 1907, 8,420 belonging to 50 unions, were in grouped homes and 4,963 from 47 unions were in scattered

homes. In addition, 2,506 from 69 unions were in other cottage homes not classified above being receiving homes or other special establishments. (88) Almost  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the children were then resident in cottage homes of various kinds but at least half of these were getting their education at ordinary elementary schools.

The cottage home made possible the close supervision of treatment typical of the traditional poor law institution whilst giving something of the benefits of a family upbringing. As such it was an improved, though more expensive district school, and a more controlled though less economical form of boarding out. The child was still in many cases being educated apart from his non-pauper fellows but at least he "belonged" somewhere, even if it was to villa No. 7,<sup>(1)</sup> along with thirty others. "Scattered" homes improved the idea by cutting the pauper education away, allowing the pauper to grow up alongside the independent child.

Emigration and migration were "root and branch" cures; boarding out and cottage homes accepted the need for an educational solution but broke with the traditional large school policy, preferring the small group. The arguments first put forward by the promoters of certified schools were taken up, developed and used to challenge successfully a fallacy which had for long bedevilled pauper

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1. The Shoreditch cottage homes (built in 1889) were all detached, each being set in its own garden, the girls' being named after flowers, and the boys' after famous men. London vol.I. no.22. p.344.

education. They showed that, contrary to orthodox theory, pauper children did not need an education different from that given to ordinary children. With board schools spreading literacy throughout the working classes, and with Mrs. Senior showing how inadequate was the education received at the most outstanding poor law schools, a way was clear for supporters of boarding out and cottage homes to press for the abolition of the pauper school. The pauper child must take his place in the board school beside the independent workman's child. Only thus would the stigma of pauperism be removed, and only thus could integration into the working community be assured. These ideas -without the aid of any considerable official support- were to win the day; the Central London District School at Hanwell is now deserted, a derelict eyesore, yet few of the surrounding county and voluntary schools can be without at least one representative of the class of child for whom that great building was originally erected.



Chapter 8. The outdoor children.

The outdoor pauper "may occupy a house and pay rent for it. The relief or rather assistance afforded to him, is generally in money or kind; and is frequently only of a temporary character; the occasion for requiring it being his own sickness or that of some member of his family. Sometimes the assistance afforded is confined to medical relief alone; or to providing an outfit and premium on the apprenticing of a child, or an outfit upon a child's entering into service." I2 P.L.B. 1859-60 p.14.

An outdoor pauper received cash, kind, or both from the guardians yet remained a free agent, resident in his own home. The outdoor pauper children were many times more numerous than the indoor. In January, 1849 the total number of outdoor pauper children amounted to 328,090, a figure somewhat higher than normal though a peak of 381,448, coinciding with the cotton famine, was reached in January, 1863. After a decline the figure began to increase again till in January, 1871 it had become 337,377. At this point a more stringent outdoor relief policy was introduced and thereafter the figure decreased steadily till in January, 1897 it had fallen to 178,720. These outdoor children formed a considerable part of the outdoor pauper army; in July, 1870 45.1% of metropolitan outdoor pauperism consisted

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1. At least six times till the 1870s; thereafter three or four times.  
 11. Summer figures were, of course, rather lower,

of children under 16 and the figure for the rest of England and Wales was 35.9% (1).

The causes of child outdoor pauperism are similar to those which led to indoor pauperism. (1) The absence of a father was the most frequent cause in town and country alike; loss of the wage-earner drove the family to the poor law and the guardians' sympathies would lead them to offer outdoor rather than indoor relief, especially where a widow might, with a little help, earn enough to keep the home going. The Metropolis suffered excessively from temporary sickness and unemployment but the provinces had more than their fair share of outdoor pauperism due to old age or disability. At the end of the period under review statistics for child outdoor pauperism were differently collated but the children of widows were still (11) the predominant group.

The old poor law abuse of indiscriminate outdoor relief was strongly censured in the report of the Royal Commission of 1832 to 1834. When the Poor Law Commissioners came to implement the Poor Law Amendment Act they aimed at eliminating, as far as possible, all outdoor relief to the able-bodied and this, by definition, included all children dependent upon able-bodied adults. As opportunity served (i.e. when times were prosperous and unions quiet) special

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i. See table p. 179

ii. See table p. 179

Table I.Children receiving outdoor relief, 1st. July, 1870.

<u>Cause of destitution.</u>	<u>Metropolis</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Rest of</u>	<u>Eng. &amp; Wales</u>	<u>%</u>
I. Old age or permanent disability of parent or guardian.....	3910	8.8	33919	13.3	
II. Absence of a father:-					
a. Children of widows...	23354		134367		
b. " " unmarried mothers...	758		2136		
c. " " prisoners..	905		4631		
d. " " soldiers & sailors	225		1308		
e. " " deserted wives	2884		12862		
f. Orphans.....	958		13605		
		65.4		66.3	
III. Temporary sickness or unemployment of parent or guardian.....	11472	25.8	51661	20.3	
Totals and % of all outdoor pauperism for the area.....	44466	(45.1)	254489	(35.9)	

(2)

Table 2.Children receiving outdoor relief, 1st. January, 1896.

(England and Wales.)

Children resident with able-bodied fathers in receipt of relief on account of sudden necessity, sickness or unemployment etc.....	29,446
Children dependent on widows.....	110,846
Illegitimate children living with their mothers.....	514
Children with parents in gaol.....	3,190
Children of soldiers, sailors etc.....	250
Children of non-resident males.....	8,490
Children of the non-able-bodied.....	21,456
Orphans or other children relieved without their parents.....	10,245

184,437.

(3)

orders were issued to individual unions prohibiting all such relief, apart from certain stated exceptions, <sup>(1)</sup> and other particular cases where a relaxation was permitted by the commissioners themselves. These orders were modified and made more general in 1839 (4), 1845 (5) and 1852 (6). Guardians did not, however, fully observe the regulations of the central department (7), but tended to err on the side of generosity. As the numbers of outdoor paupers rose the poor law department became more and more <sup>(11)</sup> perturbed at the diversity of practice between boards, and the readiness with which some guardians granted outdoor relief. In Berkshire in 1870, for example, the Faringdon

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1. In the 1839 order these were any sudden urgent necessity sickness, accident or a funeral, a widow in the first six months of her widowhood, a widow and her legitimate child or children (provided there was no subsequent illegitimate child), and also the family of a soldier, sailor or marine. Report on the Continuance of the P.L.C 1839 appendix A I p.65 and 66-8.

11. The Holborn Union, for example, at a time when the P.L.B. was trying to persuade metropolitan guardians to standardise procedure and refuse outdoor relief to widows and their children, memorialised the President pointing out that theory was easier than practice and that in Holborn outdoor relief was a convenient and economic method of dealing with many cases. Where, it asked, quoting exaggerated figures, would accommodation be found in the metropolitan workhouses for the 20,000 widows and their 60,000 children if outdoor relief were withdrawn? 22 P.L.B. 1869-70 appendix 5.

Union gave 1 in 47 of the union's population outdoor relief whereas at Wokingham in the same county 1 person in 12 was so relieved. (8) In these circumstances, having been assured of support from influential groups of guardians, the Local Government Board, in December, 1871, initiated a much more rigorous outdoor relief policy. Widows and their children should not, it was declared, be considered as automatically entitled to outdoor relief. The new policy brought steadily falling statistics and when, in February 1878, the President of the Local Government Board reviewed the subject he was able to show that the 1871 circular had led to a 28.6% decrease in the cost of outdoor relief and a 37.7% decrease in numbers. (9) Thus the whole weight of central office opinion was in favour of keeping outdoor relief to a minimum, an attitude which is of importance when considering the measures taken in connection with the education of outdoor pauper children.

Outside the framework set by the prohibitory orders and the exceptions to them the guardians were free to decide in each individual case whether the pauper should be brought into the workhouse or helped to keep his household in existence by means of a small grant. The guardians' decision would be based upon numerous considerations, the character and history of the applicant, the state of local employment, the time of the year, the accommodation available in the workhouse and, in some cases, the proximity of the elections or even the presence of an inspector.

The amount of outdoor relief, when offered, varied, and the commissioners themselves recommended (10) giving as much as possible in kind. <sup>(1)</sup> In Glamorgan in 1836, 6d. to 10d. was given for each child (11) but by 1869, a shilling a week with a loaf for each child had become general, (12) though later we find widows in Paddington getting as much as 2/6 per child per week. (13)

As always it was the "hard" cases which best illustrated the principles in action and a discussion of two important classes, the widows and the large families, will throw light upon the treatment afforded outdoor pauper children. First the widows -familiar figures of the Victorian scene- and their children; for long it had been accepted that these unfortunate people were worthy recipients of the nation's help, but opinion was hardening and, as we have already noted, the 1871 circular advised against continuing this indiscriminate award of assistance. The poor law department had observed that the widows were being exploited -many became needlewomen- by those who offered a small wage knowing that it would be "made up" by outdoor relief. Such payments had thus become little more than the much-criticised relief in aid of wages of the old poor

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1. This was particularly necessary in the case of large family for "lesseligibility" required the pauper labourer to be paid less than the independent. If the family of the pauper was large "additional relief should be supplied in kind to their wives and children, as far as...necessary." It was said that this system discouraged improvident marriages. 2 P.L.C. 1836 appx. a I p.43 and 44.

law. Naturally the situation was made more difficult where there were children; the 1871 circular thought that in such circumstances it was better to relieve the widow by taking one or more of her children into the workhouse or school. Increasingly the widows of good character had children "baken in" to the workhouse in this manner, whilst those of bad character were themselves brought in with their whole family. (14) For the "good" widows to be thus parted from their children was at first a fairly valid "test" but as time went by some of the pauper schools had gained such an excellent reputation that it lost its force. There can be no doubt that the Kensington widows were well content to see their children go off to the magnificent cottage home boarding school at Banstead with its swimming bath, workshops and playing fields. Some unions even went so far as to pay the fares of those widows wishing to visit their children. (15) Guardians in the metropolis were particularly anxious to comply with the Local Government Board's suggestion, in this matter, for under the Metropolitan Poor Act of 1867 (16) the expense of a widow's child kept at a separate or district school was placed at the charge of the Metropolitan Common Poor Fund whereas outdoor relief was borne ~~solely~~ solely on the union's funds. (17) The problem of the widow and her children had thus been solved by turning, if not the whole family at least some of the children, into indoor paupers. At least one lady guardian- Mrs. Charles of Paddington- disagreed with this policy and

preferred a small dole. (18) In the provinces where a union had to meet all its own expenses both indoor and outdoor there was understandably less enthusiasm for the solution offered by the Local Government Board; at Burnley, for example, the guardians preferred leaving the children with the widows as outdoor paupers so that they could be part-timers and learn the cotton trade whilst their fingers were supple and pliant. (19) Thus in the long run economy mastered sentiment in the treatment of widows and their children, the aim being to force the widow to support herself and as many of her children as possible. One inspector thought that this could best be brought about by employing the widows in the workhouse as independent non-resident servants, "in other words," he gallantly explained, "as charwomen." (20)

Large families presented even greater difficulties. The argument against subsidising wages even in the case of large families, was based on the belief that such help served only to decrease wages still more as employers sought to transfer to the poor rate part of their wages bill. Even if the Poor Law Commissioners' game of economic bluff were to be successful, there would still be an interim period during which hardship would be experienced, particularly by large families, whilst wages adjusted themselves to the new (1)

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1. The end of the old poor law "allowances" may well have caused the increase in robbery and poaching in the 1830s; in the case of poaching, however, the change in the game laws making it easier to dispose of stolen goods may also have been responsible, 2 P.L.C. 1836 appx. B 10 p.335; also appx. B 15 p.379 and appx. B 19 p.408.



conditions. "Allowances" were general under the old poor law in the case of large families and for some areas it was true to say that the more children there were the greater was the family subvention from the poor law. In Carmarthen-shire such payments had become a veritable family allowance regularly paid after the third child. (21) But the Commissioners were determined not to continue this evil practice (22) and if help of some kind could not be avoided food or clothing was to be preferred to money. (23) One of the assistant commissioners thought that the case of large families offered scope for private philanthropy <sup>(1)</sup> but the commissioners themselves thought this just as bad as poor relief since it amounted to the same thing - a subsidy in aid of wages. (24) They believed that the solution lay in the employers' hands if not be raising the labourer's wages, then by giving piece work or offering work to the ~~the~~ children. <sup>(25)</sup> But with wages down to 8 or even 7 shillings per week (26) guardians were placed in an intolerable situation. Anxious as he was to fulfil the commissioners' precepts, the chairman of the Colne Union had to admit that "during the past winter we have given a gallon of bread for the fifth child, on the principle that a man, his wife and five children cannot exist as they ought on seven shillings." (27) Where such

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1. Apart from relieving the distress he thought that this plan would have a good moral effect, first by forcing the needy parents and children to appear to deserve charity and secondly, by offering an example of industry to the rising generation. Report on the Continuance of the P.L.C. 1839 appx. B 5 p.86.

concessions as this proved insufficient the Commissioners preferred to break their rule of treating each family as a unit; <sup>28</sup> as a temporary measure and notwithstanding the serious objections which many authorities had to the practice, (28) large families were allowed to have one or more children taken into the workhouse as indoor paupers. (29) This "test" of destitution was sufficiently severe for only 26 out of 215 children to present themselves when ordered into the Cuckfield Union workhouse in lieu of the outdoor relief formerly given to their families. (30) Nevertheless this departure from the principle of treating each family as a unit, was criticised by purists as amounting to relief in aid of wages, and it was noted that when the principle was preserved, farmers often found work for the labourer's children. <sup>(1)</sup> The Poor Law Commissioners allowed the system to continue for a short time under carefully prescribed conditions (31) no doubt regarding it as an expedient designed to alleviate the hardship incidental to adjustment to the changed law. By 1840 the practice was being forbidden entirely (32) though it was to be revived again many years later, <sup>33</sup> from the special case of widows with children. (33) Gone were the days when the ne'er do well parent, having married early, produced his children at the parish pay table - the more and the dirtier, the

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1. 5 P.L.C. 1839 p.4. We may note that in both cases the child suffered the consequences of the family's destitution; he either entered the workhouse alone or went prematurely to work to keep the family above the subsistence line.

better- to increase the family "head money". (34)

It will be seen that the guardians had no easy task in deciding upon applications for outdoor relief. Board day (1) began with the distressing business of interviewing the applicants (accompanied by their children) and the "in" or "out" decision had to be taken. Maintaining a child in the workhouse was much more expensive to the union than the small outdoor relief allowance sufficient to fob off the petitioning parents; thus, if relief was to be granted at all, local expense and personal preference usually indicated "a shilling and a loaf", but national economy and public good called for the offer of the "house". The decision which the guardians took upon this nice problem had a considerable influence upon the lives of children, not least upon those of the independent labourer. At one time children were kept at home but "now parents seek situations for children, train them, take them into the fields to work with them, chastise them lest they lose their position" (35); "small sums...are now diligently inquired after as soon as children are of an age to be useful," reported the Poor Law Commissioners who went on to point out that this training in industry would be a "most effectual" means of "extirpating" pauperism. (36) So important was the child's contribution in this battle for subsistence that children were even taken away from school

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i. At least one lax board was said to have got through these applications at the rate of 100 per hour. Brentford Union 1874-5. See election poster British Library of Political and Economic Science HV/I30.

"to earn a few pence." (37) But the children of families who were granted outdoor relief were far from being exempted from premature introduction to work. Of 193,180 outdoor pauper children for whom a return (38) was made in July 1851<sup>(1)</sup> 36,271 were in work of some kind. A similar return (39) for 190,347 outdoor children three years later reported 35,827 working; after another three years it was 34,364 out of 190,480 (40) and in July 1870 it was 33,982 out of 233,036. (41) Later in this chapter it will be shown that it would be wrong to assume that the remainder of these outdoor children were attending school.

Grim as life may have been for the indoor pauper child, that of the outdoor pauper child cannot have compared very favourably with it. Even the task of collecting the money and food from the Relieving Officer's pay station seems to have fallen to the lot of the children, for their elders -widows for example- could not afford to lose even half a day's sweated pay. Some unions refused to issue relief to children and the Poor Law Board itself condemned the widespread habit of using public houses as pay stations. (42) Other arrangements in connection with outdoor relief were equally harmful; at Banbury the contract or usually delivered the loaves at the pay station some time before the arrival of the Relieving Officer and the waiting children often pilfered them. (43) Then there was the

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1, 26 of these working children were not yet four !

moral effect of weekly visits to the poor law for unearned subsistence. Worst of all, however, as far as the outdoor children were concerned, was the refusal of the authorities effectively to organise their education; the remainder of this chapter is devoted to that topic.

The central poor law authorities and most of the guardians accepted without hesitation the duty of educating indoor pauper children. With outdoor children, however, the case was much less straightforward. The guardians undertook a limited responsibility once the family's name was placed upon the poor book but the child remained a free agent under the control of his parents. In fact about one third of the outdoor pauper children between 1853 and 1870<sup>(1)</sup> were sent to school by their parents or relatives. In addition about one sixth were being educated at the expense of others, perhaps in a free or charity school. The remaining half of the outdoor pauper children were not receiving any regular instruction at all and it was towards these that the guardians, in the opinion of many educationists, had an obligation akin to that which they had towards the indoor pauper children. ~~Even~~ Allowing for the incompleteness of the earlier returns summarised in the table on the following page, it will be noticed that the residual uneducated half of the outdoor children, in the period covered by the figures, may well represent 100,000 children.

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1. See table on following page.

Table 3. The educational status of outdoor pauper children. (England and Wales.)

Ist. July 1853. Ist. July 1856 Ist. July 1859 Ist. July 1869 % for 1869 figures.

A. Being educated:-

i. at cost of parents or relatives	66,653	58,243	65,656	82,375	57%
ii. at cost of the poor rate	-	3,986	6,863	22,033	15.2%
iii. at cost of other parties i.e. at Ragged, Charity schools etc.	29,154	39,857	35,212	40,225	27.8%

B. Not at school:-

i. Not working	61,102	52,434	48,385	54,421	61.6%
ii. Working	36,271	35,827	34,364	33,982	33.4%

Totals 193,180 190,347 190,480 233,036

Notes on sources: 1853 from P.P. (355) of 1854. 59 Unions omitted.  
 1856 from P.P. (437) of 1856. 87 Unions omitted.  
 1859 from P.P. (232) of 1860. 600 Unions made returns.  
 1869 from P.P. (33) of 1870 646 Unions made returns.

Some guardians, even in the earliest days of the new poor law, encouraged the outdoor children to come as daily pupils to the workhouse school. In the Nottingham Union the outdoor children can have used their homes for little more than sleeping; up to 200 of them were admitted each day at 8 a.m. for breakfast, dined at 12 and supped at 5, had lessons in between and were sent to their homes only when the indoor children went to their dormitories. (44)

The fine detached workhouse school at Quatt also took in outdoor children (45) though the Poor Law Board refused to countenance the arrangement once the school was transformed into a district school. (46) We may be sure that these children were not allowed to disrupt the smooth flow of Henry Garland's teaching but at Abergavenny an influx of outdoor children caused such trouble and commotion that Symons, the inspector, thought there was danger of the indoor children suffering instead <sup>f</sup>of the outdoor children gaining. (47)

At Brecon, on the other hand, the system worked well, not least among the advantages being the higher salary which the increase in numbers brought to the teacher of the workhouse school. (48)

At the other end of the country Berwick on Tweed also provided an example of the system working well; writing in 1860 the vicar said that for many years up to 70 outdoorchildren had been welcomed daily into the workhouse school. Their numbers made it possible to organise a school of decent size, and their games and ideas enlivened and enriched the otherwise dull lives of the

indoor children. (49)

The poor law authorities did not approve of these experiments; there were a few isolated cases, a secretary told a Select Committee in 1861, some of which had been thought successful, but there were grave objections and the "Poor Law Board would be slow to encourage or sanction it."<sup>4</sup> (50) From first to last office policy aimed at keeping outdoor relief to the minimum, and expenditure upon education under this heading was, therefore, deprecated. Time after time guardians had their plans for the education of outdoor children quashed; Berwick on Tweed, already noted for its progressiveness in this matter, wanted to give twopence per week additional outdoor relief as school pence to those who lived near a fee-paying school (51) but had its proposal refused. In the Wortley Union it was customary to give the local schoolmaster a guinea each quarter for the education of six pauper children but the Commissioners upheld, on appeal, the district auditor's refusal to allow the payment. (52) Manchester guardians had even established a day school for their outdoor pauper children but the central authorities kept up a ceaseless objection to it. (53) In all these cases it was argued that, however worthy an object it might be, the education of outdoor children was, in the view of the authorities, illegal; the impression remains that the department was glad to be able to interpret the law in this way.

The poor law department had plenty of opportunity of



securing a change in the law had it so desired. Sir William Page Wood in 1849 introduced a measure allowing guardians to provide for the education of the children when fixing the amount of outdoor allowances, but this was rejected by a large majority, a result which caused little surprise since M.T.Baines, the President of the Poor Law Board, spoke against the measure. (54) Those who had the cause of education at heart kept up their pressure, however; Kay-Shuttleworth's plea for the outdoor children (55) was reiterated by his brother Joseph Kay who even went so far as to recommend making the education of the children a condition of receiving outdoor relief. (56) In the summer of 1855 their hopes reached fulfillment when J.E.Denison quietly slipped a short bill through whilst the Commons were (1) preoccupied with the merits of two rival schemes for general education. (57) Thus 18 & 19 Victoria cap. 34 reached the statute book and became known as "Denison's Act"; it was "an enactment involving the important admission that want of education was a form of destitution which ought to be adequately relieved." (58) The act was permissive only; guardians who so desired could augment the outdoor relief given in respect of children from 4 to 16 by the amount of school fees due at an approved school in conformity with the parents' religion attended by the child. Attending school was not to be a condition of receiving outdoor relief. W.G. Lumley, the legal expert in the poor law office, had drawn

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i.e. Lord John Russell's and Sir John Pakington's.

up the Bill at Denison's request but made it clear that the Poor Law Board in no way sponsored it. (59) Clearly it had become less easy for the Board actively to oppose such a measure but it showed little enthusiasm when introducing the act to the guardians, and peevishly recalled, "we have always considered that boards of guardians had no legal authority to expend money in providing the means of education for the children of paupers who may be relieved out of the workhouse." (60) This half-hearted support communicated itself to the guardians and the act became all but a deadletter; on the 1st. July 1856 the whole of England and Wales could boast of less than 4,000 outdoor pauper children certainly receiving any schooling at the expense of the poor law whilst at the very least 90,000 of their comrades went to no school at all. (61) Lumley's clauses making the act permissive only and specifying that education was not to be a condition of relief had successfully baulked the education reformers; by ignoring the act guardians saved on the rates and parents gained the amount of their children's earnings. By 1857 the numbers of children being educated under the act had risen to 5,353, the total cost of these amounting to a little over £1,800; most significant of all was the fact that only 194 out of the 612 unions were using the act at all. (62)

The Royal Commission on Popular Education looked into the question of education for outdoor pauper children and, having heard Kay-Shuttleworth, Frederick Temple and

Tufnell, all experts in pauper education, speak for compulsion (63), recommended amending Denison's act to make education of the children a condition of receiving outdoor relief. (64) As in other matters concerning pauper education, the poor law authorities used the 1861-4 Select Committee to rebut this implied criticism, and appropriate witnesses having been produced, the committee concluded that the Royal Commission's proposal was inconsistent with the principles of poor relief. (65) The main principle involved seemed to be one which regarded the relief of immediate distress as the proper end of poor law administration. Theoretical difficulties in the way of compulsion such as those involving casual paupers and the sick were mentioned. It was even suggested that -despite the statistics- a compulsory measure was unnecessary for even the poorest could pay school fees, and children were not turned away when fees ran up. (66) The Poor Law Board's best witness produced the most remarkable argument of all, however, by assuring the committee that gratuitous education was valueless. (67)

Although the Royal Commission's recommendations had been reversed by the Select Committee, there can be little doubt that the exchange of opinion initiated a gradual change of view by the officials. Indifference slowly gave way to encouragement and Denison's act began to be more widely used. On the 1st. July, 1869 a return showed that the numbers of those being educated at the expense of the

poor rate had risen to 22,033. (68) The transfer of the inspectors of workhouse schools from the Committee of Council to the Poor Law Board in 1863 was no doubt making it easier for educationists to influence poor law policy. Prominent in this was T.B.Browne who constantly referred to "the educational destitution of the outdoor pauper class," so noticeably when distress brought a sudden influx to the pauper schools, "children 12 or 13 years of age or even more, being often unable to read, and unacquainted with the simplest truths of Christianity." (69) Browne was no recent convert to this view. Twenty years before he wrote in reference to his own district; "It is manifest that no improvement in the education of 7,000 or 8,000 children in the workhouses can have much effect upon pauperism as long as the [estimated 130,000] outdoor pauper children continue to be neglected."<sup>(70)</sup> Browne wanted outdoor children to be daily pupils at the workhouse schools; a few large district schools, which he opposed, dotted about the county could not provide that daily local schooling which, he believed, the outdoor children should receive, whereas the workhouse schools which he supported could. (71) Prompted by inspectors, (72) the guardians became increasingly conscientious and by 1870 Stepney and Poplar had evolved a model procedure. demanding school attendance certificates for all children on the outdoor pauper list. (73) So advanced had thought now become that one writer even took the Poor Law Board to task for not promoting the apprenticeship of outdoor children. (74

Increasing recognition by the poor law authorities of the breadth of their educational responsibilities was part of a larger movement of national educational awareness of which the most signal product was the Elementary Education Act of 1870. A Local Government Board circular (75) made it clear that the 1870 act did not outmode Denison's act. Guardians were advised to ask applicants for outdoor relief if their children were being educated and, if not, to give the extra relief necessary. The position was properly clarified by the Elementary Education Act of 1873 (36 & 37 Victoria cap.86) ; Denison's act was repealed from the 1st. January, 1874 and education of all children between the ages of 5 and 13<sup>(1)</sup> henceforth became a condition of receiving outdoor relief, unless they had passed the labour standard o were covered by the Agricultural Children's act 1873. Guardians, of course, were now compelled to give the extra relief necessary to procure the required schooling, and all the difficulties which, it had been said, would make a compulsory measure an impossibility were successfully surmounted by listing a few exemptions. (76) There was an immediate increase in the number of outdoor children being educated; in the ten year period beginning with Lady Day 1879, the average annual expenditure under the 1873 act for the metropolis only (£1,841-10-0) was greater than that for the whole of England and Wales in 1857 (£1,828-13-6½) .(77) The various school attendance orders

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1. The age limit in Denison's act had been 4 to 16, but the 1873 act was a compulsive measure.

affected outdoor pauper children as well as independent children. The increase in poor law expenditure on school fees obviously represents a part only of the increase in school attendance by outdoor pauper children, for parents were coming to recognise the value of schooling. In fact from 1889, in the metropolis at any rate, there appeared the start of a slow reduction (78) in expenditure on account of outdoor children's school fees, a tendency which must also be related to smaller school fees and an overall decline in the number of outdoor paupers. Finally when the Elementary Education Act of 1891 (54 & 55 Victoria cap. 56) began to take effect the guardians had to pay fees only for the few children who, under the act, did not receive free education. (79) Expenditure under this head became almost negligible, the total for the metropolitan area in 1893 being only £14. (80)

In this chapter too, the poor law department has been shown discovering that the accepted view, based on the report of the Royal Commission of 1832-4, was becoming increasingly unsuited to the new environment. The opportunism of a private member of parliament had given progressive guardians the freedom they sought and inaugurate a change of policy which result<sup>ed</sup>~~ing~~ in the number of children benefiting from the act being trebled between 1859 and 1869. (81) A stronger measure came in 1873, but by then a larger battle had been won -the battle of general education. Henceforth the education of outdoor pauper children became

part only of the greater task of providing schooling for all the poor. The mid-century poor law purists had regarded expenditure under this head as beyond the scope of the poor laws. Their successors of a generation later were just as certain of the opposite belief. The concept of the poor law's function had changed from repression to cure. Instead of offering deterrents the poor law was now beginning to provide treatment for the social diseases which caused pauperism. The education of outdoor pauper children, a means of rehabilitating the rising generation of potential paupers, was as certainly part of this revised idea of the poor law as it had been excluded by the orthodox "new" poor law principles of 1834.

Chapter 9. Teachers in Poor Law Schools.

"The position of a workhouse schoolmaster is peculiar. He is appointed by the guardians and paid by the Treasury, according to a scale fixed by the Poor Law Board. His rank in that scale which regulated his emoluments, is decided by the Privy Council inspector, and he is dismissed by the Poor Law Board. Those who appoint him do not pay him and cannot dismiss him. Those who pay him know nothing of his qualifications, and those who assign to him his salary are not his employers."

Nassau Senior Suggestions on Popular Education 1861  
p.108.

"When every good quality they possess is placed to their credit, it yet remains true that workhouse school teachers are, taken as a whole, of a distinctly lower grade educationally speaking, than the teachers of public elementary schools; their certificates do not rank so high; their qualifications have never been so thoroughly tested; their knowledge of books and men is not so wide. Trained teachers from our colleges are as rare in workhouse schools as blackberries in May; it is said that only the failures answer the advertisements of guardians."

Rev. J.Wood Trans. N.A.P.S.S. 1882 p.341.

Nassau Senior's paradoxes were quite true when he wrote; had he wished, he could have added that the more successfully a poor law teacher worked, the lower his salary became, and the longer he stayed at his post the less likely was he to advance himself in his profession. Under the old poor law, "teachers" in the parish workhouses were, in many cases, little more than child-minders and this tradition carried through to the early days of the new poor law, for the "Bashaws" had problems enough upon their hands without entering fully into the difficult question of education. Guardians' arrangements were automatically



approved and in 1838 a retired army sergeant, a pauper dismissed from the East India Company for misconduct and another who had drunk himself insane, were all to be found in the post of pauper schoolmaster. (1) The publicity given to these and similar cases forced the commissioners in July, 1838, to investigate "the description of persons at present employed as teachers in the union workhouses." (2) "There is no class of officers," reported Tufnell in the following year (3) "of whom such continual complaints are made," and described cases of drunkenness, cruelty, attempted seduction of elder girls and complete illiteracy.<sup>(1)</sup> Slowly higher standards, at least of conduct, were set and consequently the number of dismissals rose. Out of a total number of teachers which, in 1841 was 546 (4) the number of dismissals (mostly masters) rose from 0 in 1835, to 1 in 1836, 5 in 1837, 7 in 1838, 10 in 1839 and 14 in 1840. (5) Few of these were on grounds of academic competency; drunkenness, indecency, lying, undue harshness and insubordination were more usual.(6) Yet despite reiterated statements of their belief in improving the standard of teaching in pauper schools the commissioners did little more than eliminate a few of the very worst. Those who fancied the position tried their skill and the guardians were in most cases glad to have them. A return of 1847 showed that the former occupations of

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1. In the circumstances Tufnell's complaint that others could not explain transsubstantiation was, to say the least, unreasonable.

teachers included bread and biscuit maker, straw bonnet maker, farmer's wife, plumber and glazier, attorney's widow and planter.<sup>(1)</sup>

Salaries, in the period up to 1847, were settled, subject to the commissioners' approval, by arrangement between the teacher and the guardians. (7) In 1836, for example, a London parish was paying a pauper inmate 1/6 per week to educate the pauper girls. (8) The practice of employing paupers as teachers in the workhouse, described by Dickens in Sketches by Boz (9), had been common under the old law and was now strongly discouraged though not expressly forbidden.<sup>(11)</sup> It was unfortunate that one of the commission's regulations allowing older paupers to enter the children's quarters "to aid in their management and superintend their behaviour," (10) could be construed as permitting the abuse.<sup>(111)</sup> We may, however, regard the employment of paupers as teachers, and the small salaries for which they offered their services, as exceptional. Genuine teachers' salaries as high as £70 for a master and £25 for a mistress were known, as well as many <sup>of</sup> ~~for~~ as little as £10. (12) Oxford struck an unusual note by offering its mistress the same salary -£27-6-0 per annum- as that <sup>at</sup>

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i. The latter was employed at Penrith for £2-12-0 per annum and was presumably, therefore, a pauper. P.P.(734) 1847-8.

ii. The P.L.B. refused to prohibit the practice outright when the Committee of Council asked for a statement of policy on the matter. P.L.B. to C.C.E. 27th.Ap. 1848  
MH 19/14/1848.

iii. Even more remarkable was the appointment as late as 1894 of a "respectable inmate" as paid assistant in a pauper school. L.Twining Workhouses and Pauperism 1898 p.148.

received by the master. (I2) The average was somewhat lower; in 1844-5 for the 284 schoolmasters it was £26 each whilst the 423 mistresses averaged only £16-12-0. (I3)

1847 brought important changes to the teachers in pauper schools, not least in connection with their salaries. Hitherto the pauper schools had worked in isolation from the Committee of Council on Education. In 1847, however, a parliamentary grant in aid of the salaries of teachers in pauper schools brought the committee -the channel through which the grant flowed- into the pauper school affairs. So far guardians' parsimony had kept salaries low, but now that the financial burden was to be taken over by the central government it was hoped that more liberal awards, and better appointments, might be made. Kay-Shuttleworth, to whom already pauper education owed so much, was behind the scheme; he persuaded Peel, who favoured using "pecuniary means" to promote educational measures (I4) and who was not averse to placing part of the burden of poor law expenditure upon the shoulders of the central government, (I5) to include an item- £30,000 in a full year- earmarked for the salaries of poor law teachers, in the supply vote presented to the Commons on July 13th, 1846 shortly after his resignation as prime minister. (I6) The grant was first awarded for the half year ending with Lady Day, 1847. (I7)

Kay-Shuttleworth produced a memorandum (I8) outlining the conditions which were attached to the grant; there were requirements as to the status of the teacher, the supply of

teaching equipment, arrangements for pupil teachers and, above all, provision for an inspectorate. As an indication of the kind of reformation he had in mind, Kay-Shuttleworth also mentioned the desirability of establishing a training school for the training of teachers for poor law schools. The teachers' salary scale was graded according to the teacher's proficiency and went from £5 per annum to £50 and even more, with schoolmistresses receiving two thirds of the amounts. (19) At first the inspectors merely approved existing salaries (20) but a circular of 31st. March, 1848 warned the guardians that from 1st. April, 1849 the era of what might be called "payment by proficiency" would begin. (21) The various salary grades - "Efficiency", "Competency", "Probation", and "Permission"- were subdivided to establish financial differentials within as well as between grades, (22) and Gilbert's Act incorporations as well as places under local acts were allowed to participate in the scheme. (23) An attempt by the Poor Law Board to deduct the cost of board and lodging from the salaries of those who lived in was scotched by the Treasury (24) and eventually the few who were allowed to live out received an extra amount in lieu of their keep, though this extra payment was not chargeable to the parliamentary grant. (25) The salary scheme soon ran into difficulties for it appeared at once that the first class teacher at Biggleswade was to receive £60 despite the fact that his school contained only six pupils. (26) In May, 1850 a new scale, produced at the instigation of the Poor Law Board,

introduced the principle of a pupil capitation allowance which could increase a teacher's salary, though not in excess of a stated maximum for his proficiency rating; the basic scale now ran from £5 to £60 and the mistresses were raised to four fifths of the masters' scale.(27) This new departure brought in daily registration of pupils (28) and, unfortunately, cases of teachers falsely entering absentees as present.(29) Now it was the turn of the Committee of Council to find fault with the scale as amended to suit the Poor Law Board,(30) for it appeared that the more efficient a teacher was (i.e. the more children he fitted for employment at an early age) the smaller his salary became, for his school's roll would fall.<sup>(1)</sup> The new scales had even removed some of the financial incentives, for some teachers found that even if they were up-graded their salaries -owing to a low roll-<sup>(11)</sup> would not improve. Garland, one of the country finest pauper school teachers had his salary cut from £60 to £40-10-0 but the Poor Law Board agreed in his case to authorise a higher amount.(31) Removal of inequity was not the sole aim of the Committee of Council, however; a strong case for the general raising of salaries was made in June, 1852. The Poor Law Board had numerous objections the chief being that the proposed increases would give the teachers more than the workhouse masters and matrons, their superior

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1. This reversed an idea thrown out much earlier by the P.L.C. of paying the master a gratuity for each pupil successfully placed in a useful occupation. 2 P.L.C. 1836 appx. A12 p.79. We may not see an early appearance of "payment by results."  
 11. This was intentional, the aim being to force the more capable teachers into the largest schools.

officers. (32) The opposing attitudes of the two authorities ~~were~~ clearly demonstrated in the case of the mixed school taught by two teachers of different sex. The Committee of Council counted the full roll of the school for the purposes of assessing each teacher's salary inasmuch as each teacher did, on occasion, take the whole school. (33) In the next revision (34), effective from Lady Day, 1853, the Poor Law Board decided against this ~~review~~ and calculated the master's salary upon the number of boys and that of the mistress on the number of girls. This new scale raised the capitation allowances, and removed the subdivisions of the very lowest class, one figure -£15 (£12 for a mistress)- taking their place. These slight increases were as much as the education department could get the poor law authorities to authorise. Undaunted the Committee of Council continued to press for better incentives and managed to ~~to~~ get the Poor Law Board to agree to grading the capitation fees as well within each class of certificate. (35) Another minor amendment in 1884 completed the picture; in large schools, the numbers would be used first to build the head teacher up to the stated maximum, then the first assistant and so on. (36) In exceptional cases the poor law authorities could authorise larger payments but in 1889 these amounted to 12 only, ranging from one of £120 to the headmaster of the South Metropolitan District School, to several of £70 at other large schools. (37) The grant built up a surplus at first; from £20,000 in 1849, it rose to £30,000 in 1858 and then to its maximum of £38,769

in 1882 (38) by which time the annual vote had been increased to £37,000. (39) Then, as pauper children were gradually moved out of the pauper schools, the figure fell, till, in 1896, it had become £31,740.

The salary scale stated merely the amount which the union was allowed to draw from the parliamentary grant in regard to the teacher's salary. A board of guardians could, with the agreement of the central authorities, pay a salary in excess of the amount "earned" from the grant, and make up the difference from the union funds. A typical case occurred in the Ludlow Union where Lavinia Moon, an outstanding teacher, was being pressed by Jelinger Symons the school inspector to go to a newly-formed district school at Quatt where the numbers of children would allow her to earn more money for her present grading. Loathe to lose Miss Moon, and incensed at the inspector's conduct, the Ludlow guardians got permission to pay Miss Moon £8-6-0 in excess of her authorised £27-4-0 per annum and thus managed to keep her. (40) Such extra payments were, however, rare. (41) More often the grant induced guardians to mention a low salary when advertising for a teacher in case the appointed candidate should fail to pass the inspector's examination at a level high enough to earn from the grant any higher salary to which the guardians might have committed themselves. (42)

The superannuation of poor law officers was raised as early as 1850, (43) but the Poor Law Board thought at

first that teachers did not hold their posts long enough to warrant including them in any scheme. (44) It was not till 1864 that 27 & 28 Victoria cap. 42, the Superannuation Act, reached the statute book to be followed by 29 & 30 Victoria cap. 113 extending the provisions to school districts. Both these acts were permissive and they allowed the employer to pay a grant or an annual allowance of not more than two thirds of the salary. Usually, however, when superannuation allowances were granted they were a little over half of the annual salary. (45) The officers were dissatisfied with these arrangements; in 1871 they pointed out that guardians could and did refuse pensions, and that the regulation requiring all qualifying service to be given in a single union was unfair. (46) These complaints were passed to the guardians, (47) but no legislative amendments were made. Not all guardians were parsimonious towards their staff, however, for in 1880 the Local Government Board found it necessary to curb the generosity of some boards towards their retired officers. (48)

The number of teachers employed by the 600 unions rose gradually to close on 900:-

	Masters	Mistresses	Total
1841	223	323	546
1844-5	284	423	707
1850	383	501	884
1876	332	551	883

(49)

In the 80s the number of teachers began to fall as other means of educating pauper children were developed. The size of classes varied enormously from school, to school, but the average rose from 36 in 1875 (50) to 65 in 1887, (51)



an increase indicative of the tardiness of the large schools in adopting the new methods of pauper upbringing.

A teacher in a pauper school was appointed, subject to the central authorities' approval by the guardians; approval was withheld only when reference to a previous employer revealed a really unsatisfactory history. The guardians were, therefore, the effective selection board for teachers, and there was much criticism of this system. It was said, for example, that influence with members of the board counted(5) that guardians did not know a good teacher from a bad one, nor, sometimes, did they care to do so. (53) Compassion for a failure in other walks of life, the fear that the candidate might be added to the poor list if he were not successful in his application for the post, relationship to the guardians or to existing staff, (54) were all reasons which, it was reported influenced guardians' decisions. Small wonder then that "the selection of school teachers is not always determined by their merit or capacity." (55) With few exceptions, the pauper teacher was a resident officer; his day began before the children were roused and did <sup>not</sup> end till they were asleep. He often retired to a cubicle boarded off from the children's dormitory, (56) though "more or less commodious" separate bedrooms became usual later. (57) A holiday was an occasional act of grace which the guardians sometimes saw fit to make, but brought with it the problem of finding a substitute. Mozley knew a schoolmaster and mistress (man and wife) who worked from 5 a.m. till 8 p.m. in summer and 6 a.m. till 7.30p.

in winter; they never took a holiday as they felt uncomfortable at leaving the children. (58) Very late in the century some of the large schools eventually discovered the benefits of a break from the academic routine and stopped all school work for two weeks in the summer whilst the teachers took their annual leave. (59) The teacher was responsible for much more than the children's academic attainments; he had to "see them washed and combed, to attend to them at meals, to see them go to bed, and get up." (60) He might even be expected "to teach the boys bed-making and scrubbing and to assist them in these operations." (61) Mistresses were, of course, expected to supervise the repair of the inmates' clothes. (62) Small wonder then that an inspector summed the matter up by saying that too much was put upon teachers who had insufficient free time. (63)

In view of conditions such as these it is hardly surprising that teachers were often involved in altercations with <sup>o</sup>ther officers, particularly the workhouse master. Some teachers had "a very exalted idea of their position, relative to the master of the workhouse," (64) declared one poor law inspector and blamed the Committee of Council for this; "teachers are invariably the aggressors," wrote another, "they enter the workhouse with the most absurd notions of their own position and consequence," and went on to quote the case of one who left his post the day after he arrived, telling the master that he had not been accustomed

to use forks made of German silver. (65) The Poor Law Board sought to stop one cause of friction by declaring that a schoolmaster off duty could leave the premises without the master's permission, (66) but masters were still, in 1875, making it impossible for teachers to go to concerts starting at 8 p.m., by locking the workhouse gates. (67) Where the workhouse master was a former teacher, cooperation was more likely, (68) but friction occurred even with the highest class of officer. In some unions the chaplain, not the schoolmaster, chose the children's library, and his selection naturally fell too frequently upon religious books. (69) Even in district schools this kind of friction existed. The chaplain at the South Metropolitan District School left Imeson the headmaster in no doubt as to their positions, :- "The chaplain has told me...that I cannot select a schoolbook without his sanction, and...a subordinate must act only through his superior officer." To give point to his remarks the chaplain would then preach to the text "Be ye subject to the higher powers." (70) In a closed community such as a poor law institution minor differences and clashes of personality were bound to be exaggerated; a fuller life outside the institution would tend to place things more in perspective. As the century wore on, "living out" was less frowned on and, in particular, was encouraged in the cottage home system for here the master's duties extended only to school work. Where all evening work could not be avoided, the rota system was

introduced to make it possible for officers to live out. (71)

Too often, however, a poor law teacher sought an end to his difficulties by migrating either to another poor law post or, preferably, to a non-pauper school; changes of staff were particularly frequent in pauper schools (72) and there was "a growing tendency to make service in a poor law school a mere stepping stone to employment elsewhere." (73) Posts in pauper schools were never much sought after and even as early as 1856 one board of guardians found itself in the humiliating position of having to reappoint a master dismissed for gross neglect of duty, when they failed to obtain a replacement. (74) Naturally the 1870 Education Act increased the exodus and thereafter the difficulty of finding "respectable persons" as teachers was "increasing yearly". (75) Some of these resigning teachers were not entirely lost to the poor law, however, for sometimes the schoolmaster and mistress - particularly married couples - became master and matron; (76) their elevation in rank marked a great improvement in the class of person holding the chief executive posts in workhouses, but deprived the school of many of their best teachers. Finally there were those who left because they had to; it is not surprising, in view of the difficulty in recruiting successors, that these were few; there might be as many as a dozen in the year (77) or as few as three. (78) Some, like Collings the Spalding Union teacher, may have

(1)  
 forged their testimonials and would be dismissed,  
 but teachers were usually given the option of resigning, (79)  
 and even "Francis Pittman...a troublesome mischievous officer  
 a pest to any building" (80) had the good sense to do so.  
 When the central authorities found it necessary to remove  
 an obtuse officer by order this brought the added penalty  
 of disqualifying the person from poor law office for life. (81)

It is clear that teachers in pauper schools were  
 badly paid, overworked and subject to inferior conditions  
 of work. The resulting wastage from the position posed  
 large problems of recruitment and training which were never  
 satisfactorily solved. In the earliest days the situation  
 seemed well nigh hopeless: "It is too much to reckon upon  
 procuring a competent teacher for any workhouse school,"  
 wrote an assistant commissioner in 1838; "accident may  
 have reduced a duly qualified person to the necessity of  
 accepting the situation but there is no security that  
 adequate services can in any one instance be obtained." (82)  
 Another official came to a similar conclusion: "Respectable  
 candidates will not submit to the restraint of the workhouse.  
 ...", (83) and the Commissioners themselves had to agree. (84)  
 The first attempt at meeting the difficulty was to provide  
 some training for those already doing the job in the hope  
 of fitting them for their work. Hollingbourne Union sent

1. Collings received 18 months hard labour. II P.L.B. 1858-9  
 p.18 and appx.5 p.28; In an earlier case the P.L.C. were  
 unable to proceed. Official Circular 14th. Oct. 1841  
 p.173-4.

their master to a well-run Children's Friend Society orphanage at Hackney Wick, to learn the methods of instruction used there; (85) Kay too sent some masters from his district to another foundation of the same society at Chiswick, and to Lady Noel Byron's school at Ealing, (86) but realised that these were mere palliatives and that something much more thorough would be required if the pauper schools were to be properly staffed. Progressive thinkers were urging the establishment of model training schools (1) and in the early summer of 1837 Kay had approached the Bishop of Norwich with such a plan in mind. (87) But Scotland provided all that was best in teacher-training and thither Kay and Tufnell (at the latter's suggestion) (88) determined to go. On the eve of their departure north Kay visited one of contractor Drouet's establishments for metropolitan pauper children, (89) and found two boys chained to logs weighing nearly a stone, a punishment which, as he discovered, had been known to continue for as long as a week, the logs not being removed at any time of the day or night. It was an experience which he could recall in the last days of his life. (90) Kay wrote his report on this distressing incident whilst in Scotland surrounded by the triumphs of Wood's Sessional School in

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1. See for example B.F.Duppa Schools for the Industrious Classes 1837 p.64. "Let there be a model and normal school for training properly qualified teachers."

Edinburgh and Stow's Normal Seminary in Glasgow. On the eve of his return he wrote to the Commissioners a grim and trenchant letter: "The brutish ignorance of our rural and city population in England," he wrote, "badly demands immediate interference." Teachers similar to those trained in Glasgow and Edinburgh were required; the contractors' pauper schools around London could be taken over and transformed into "model establishments to which the unions might send their teachers for instruction" and these teachers would spread the new gospel throughout the land.(91) Kay was not the first to suggest that the Poor Law Commissioners should enter the field of teacher training (92) but he was the first to produce a workable plan of achieving that end. Back in the eastern counties Kay revived his project for a diocesan training school, (93) and imported some Scots schoolmasters "employing them as missionaries of their true faith in teaching," (94) and arranging for (1) other teachers to see them at work.

Kay continued to ply the Commissioners with arguments in favour of establishing a model school; "the great obstacle arising from the gross inefficiency of the present schoolmasters and schoolmistresses never can be thoroughly

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I. MS. Kay to Lewis 11th. Nov. 1837 MH 32/49. The salaries offered by guardians were not sufficient to retain the services of these excellent Scots schoolmasters; Stow later claimed to have sent approximately 200 teachers into the English pauper schools, but he admitted that most of these soon left to take up other posts. (The Training System, Moral Training School and Normal Seminary, 10th. Edn. 1854 p.505) The workhouse remained "less eligible" for officers as well as for paupers.

overcome without the creation of a normal institution ... the establishments for pauper children in the neighbourhood of London afford admirable opportunities..." (95) The Commissioners at first asked the assistant commissioner for the metropolitan area to look into the proposal (96) but in July 1838 took advantage of a reshuffling of posts to place Kay himself in charge of the metropolis. (97) An indication of the Commissioners' increasing interest in the problem was the special return called for in July, to discover what type of person was being employed in the union workhouses as teacher.(98) Meanwhile Kay was giving "a large share " of his time to the schools (99) and was making Aubin's school at Norwood his chosen instrument of reform. Thither he moved some outstanding monitors - notably William Rush from the Mitford and Launditch Union, who had first shown him the possibilities of what was to become the pupil teacher system. Having made it clear that he intended to make Aubin's school a training school for teachers as well as a model of a new type of education, (100) Kay squeezed various concessions out of the Commissioners; a small library was provided, (101) a chaplain appointed (102), and a singing master employed (103). Scots teachers were recruited and other schoolmasters brought to Norwood to imbibe something of the Scots technique.(104) But Aubin's school, however, transformed, remained a second best; Kay still urged that the Commissioners should themselves establish "a normal industrial school at which teachers may be



taught and trained." (IO5) The lethargy displayed by the central authorities <sup>(1)</sup> dismayed him, however, and aided by Tufnell he converted part of his home at Battersea into a normal school for the training of teachers. This pioneer experiment in the collegiate training of teachers has received considerable attention from educational historians (IO6) and it would be superfluous to recount its story here. Let it suffice to say that in January 1840 <sup>(ii)</sup> Kay opened it with some of the apprentice teachers he had gathered together at Aubin's school at Norwood, and gave them a training designed to fit them for the life of a teacher in pauper schools. The importance of the foundation was recognised in the Committee of Council's minute of 23rd. June, 1841, awarding a grant to compensate for "the benefits derived to the Poor Law Commissioners, or any public institutions connected with the state", by the provision of trained teachers. (IO7) The financial strain which such an undertaking imposed upon two

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i. The attitude of the governmental authorities towards Kay at a slightly later date is made clear in the following note from Sir James Graham to Peel written 25/26th. Aug. 1842 at the height of the rioting: "Enclosed is a letter from Dr. Kay Shuttleworth...the clerk of the Council for Education thinks that moral training and normal schools will restore peace. These instruments are not to be despised, and have been too long neglected; but cheap bread, plenty of potatoes, low-priced American bacon, a little more Dutch cheese and butter, will have a more pacifying effect than all the mental culture which any government can supply." C.S. Parker (Ed.) Sir Robert Peel, 1891 (3 vols.) vol. II p. 541  
 ii. including William Rush who returned to Norwood as a master when he had completed his training. J. Kay Shuttleworth Four Periods 1862 p. 288, 292. Mins. C.C.E. 1845 p. 262. Like most good teachers, Rush left the poor law service; he went to the National school at Broadstairs and died prematurely at 28 of tuberculosis. Atkins History of St. John's College, Battersea 1906 p. 91.

professional gentlemen could not be continued for long and during 1844 the school was sold to the National Society. At that time there were only three teachers trained at Battersea working in pauper schools though shortly after the transfer two more entered the poor law service. (108)

The Battersea experiment had momentous importance for the development of education but it produced little that would help the pauper schools in their staffing difficulties. Nevertheless the experience had not been wasted on Kay and it will be recalled that his 1846 memorandum on the grant for teachers in poor law schools included the recommendation that a special normal school should be set up to train teachers for poor law work. Applicants would be encouraged by the offer of favourable terms for training and a bond was recommended to ensure that the trained teachers did enter pauper schools. (109) The Committee of Council's minute of 21st. December, 1846 implemented Kay Shuttleworth's suggestion and provided for the establishment of a normal school to train masters for pauper and other state schools. (110) A district pauper school and an industrial school would also be built on the site as practising schools. The plan had a significance far beyond the field of pauper education; balked in its plans of providing a training school for teachers by those who claimed that education was not the province of the state, the Committee of Council was erecting an institution designed to provide teachers for children who were undeniably the responsibility of the state i.e.

those in pauper, reformatory, prison, army and naval schools. It may even be surmised that just as Kay Shuttleworth may once have thought to transform pauper schools so that they, by their very excellence, would force up the teaching standards in other types of school, so now, by establishing a model government-sponsored training school, he hoped to set a standard for the voluntarily established training schools. A start was soon made and an estate of 45 acres purchased for £10,500 at Kneller Hall, which gave its name to the school when it was erected.<sup>(1)</sup> All expenditure in connection with Kneller Hall came from the parliamentary vote for education, neither the poor law vote, the poor rate, or even the yearly grant for poor law teacher salaries, was used in connection with it. (III) The first students had to pass an entrance examination that would dismay many a present-day student teacher (II2) and pay, or have found for them, £30.per annum. (II3) The authorities let it be known that the students were not compelled to <sup>t</sup>ake the bond to serve in pauper schools for seven years, (II4) and the first students began their course in February 1850. (II5)

The Committee of Council procured a well-qualified staff for its pioneer experiment. Frederick Temple, a

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1. The name was sometimes spelt "Knellar". The building, near Twickenham, Middlesex, was eventually to become famous as the home of the Royal Military School of Music. A lithograph of the imposing mock-Tudor exterior, and plans, were printed in Mins. G.C.E. (P.U.S.) 1847-8-9.

(1)

future headmaster of Rugby and Archbishop of Canterbury,  
 was principal at a salary of £800 p.a. and his deputy was  
 Francis Turner Palgrave, a future Oxford professor, (11) at  
 a salary of £500 p.a. (II6) The third master was Mr.  
 Tate, formerly a master at the Battersea training school (111)  
 and the author of several works on teaching method, (1v)  
 whilst the other member of the staff was Mr. Tilleard,

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i. Temple (1821-1902) was educated at Blundells and Balliol college, Oxford, whence he graduated with a double first in classics and maths. 1848 -examiner in Committee of Council office; 1849- principal of Kneller Hall; 1855-inspector of mens training schools; 1857 -headmaster of Rugby; 1869-bishop of Exeter; 1885- bishop of London; 1896 - archbishop of Canterbury. D.N.B. 2nd.Supp. p.488-493. Memoir by Seven Friends (E.G.Sandford,Ed.) 2 vols. 1906.

ii. Palgrave (1824-1897). 1846 -private secre@try to Gladstone; 1850-1855 -vice principal of Kneller Hall; then examiner and assistant secre@try at Committee of Council office until his retirement in 1884. 1885- professor of Poetry at Oxford. Francis Turner Palgrave G.F.Palgrave, 1899. Whilst P Palgrave was at Kneller Hall he became very friendly with Tennyson who was then living near by. He would spend his evenings with the poet and the results of their discussions are to be found in the now famous anthology which Palgrave first issued in 1861, The Golden Treasury. In estimating the debt which education owes to Kneller Hall, a high place must be given to this small book. Palgrave taught English to the students and was obviously impressed with the need for satisfying the literary requirements of a new literate class which could not afford libraries.

iii. In 1856 Tate retired at 50 on a pension of £120 p.a. (C.C.E. 1856-7 p.32-3) which he was still drawing in 1884. ([C 394I] 1884 lx1 p.4.)

iv. On leaving Kneller Tilleard entered the Committee of Council office and later gained notoriety as the officer responsible for marking passages in inspectors' reports likely to be gegarded as unsuitable. (S.C. on Education (Inspectors' Reports) 1864 p.3)

who had been a student at Norwood and at Battersea, and had since widened his experience by studying under Fellenburg, a famous continental educationist. Tate and Tilleard received £250 and £150 respectively. (117)

Even before the school opened, the church party mounted an attack upon what was regarded as an underhand move on the part of Kay Shuttleworth to inveigle the state into the preserves of the church. John Bull's article, "The infidel college at Kneller Hall", (118) attacked the non-sectarian basis of the college's religious instruction, and was reproduced with amplification in The English Review. (119) Then a public meeting in London in June, 1850 protested that the real aim of Kneller Hall was the provision of teachers for the whole population. Despite the appointment of Temple as principal, the meeting considered that the school's religion was vague and should be reconstructed in keeping with the principles of Church practice. (120) The agitation did not continue long for the life of Kneller Hall as a training school was to be a short one. It failed first because the original plan for the school and its satellite schools was never completed, and second because it was part of a wider plan for pauper education - the district school system- which was never fully implemented. Turning first to the plan for Kneller Hall itself, it will be recalled that the original scheme included the provision of model pauper and industrial schools intended to give practice to students entering those

fields. Unfortunately the building of a practising pauper school required pauper children and this allowed the dead hand of poor law administration to put a brake upon progress. The Committee of Council proposed building an 800 place pauper school on the site at the expense of the educational vote but the Poor Law Board found many objections to this generous proposal; there were enough school districts in the area, and even if the Committee of Council rented the building out it was difficult to see where the children were to come from; the managers of such a school might conflict with the Committee of Council; (I21) and so the matter was allowed to drop. (I22) The larger plan for pauper education -the district school system- had also misfired. The six schools suddenly formed in 1849 were the last to be formed for nearly twenty years and there was no market for the graduate of Kneller Hall trained to take up a position of responsibility in the many district schools which, it had been anticipated, would cover the country. Disillusioned and ridiculed as having been educated above their status, they found themselves instead in small workhouse schools, expected to cut all the inmates' bread, (I23) or being compelled to take meals with the porter. (I24) Their qualifications and training gave them the opportunity of much higher salaries if they, as some did, broke their bond, and Temple received numerous complaints from disgruntled past students; their salaries, already low, were often reduced

as a result of their efforts, friction with the workhouse masters, menial tasks, bad living conditions and the fact that much of their work was undone by the environment surrounding their pupils, made their lives intolerable. (I25) Such conditions were hardly an advertisement for Kneller Hall; eventually gratuitous training was offered but applications still fell off and were mostly from those who had failed to get placed in other training schools; in 1855 out of 48 failing to get places in other training schools, all but 9 refused the offer of gratuitous training at Kneller Hall. At the 1855 examination only 10 candidates presented themselves. (I26) Clearly the grand project was doomed and Mosely, the inspector of training schools, ended his report by recommending that if the district school system was not implemented forthwith the school should be closed. (I27) The advice was taken and a minute of 12th. May, 1855, closed the school at the end of that year. (I28) In March, 1855, there were still 37 students in residence; only 64 of its 83 graduates were still teaching and of these a mere 46 were in pauper schools. This had been achieved at an expenditure of over £60,000. (I29) The experience of the short-lived but expensive venture may well have had a bearing on the determination of succeeding governments -apart from emergency schemes- to remain outside the field of teacher training.

The failure of the Kneller Hall project meant that for the rest of the century pauper schools were to suffer

from a shortage of trained teachers. Ruddock declared in 1861 that few of those applying for a first post in pauper schools were trained; in the whole of his district (which included roughly  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the 800 teachers in service) only 2 trained masters and 3 former pupil teachers had applied in the last five years. (I30) The quality of female applicants had improved, the same inspector reported, and he took this to be evidence of improved standards of lower middle class education. (I31) The 1870 Education Act, of opening the gate opportunity for the teacher as well as the child, drained still more of the trained teachers away, (I32) and guardians were left to ponder over the few replies they received to their advertisements of vacancies. (I33) A minor regulation of the revised code (1) was responsible for an annual census of the number of trained teachers in pauper schools. This return was defective at times (ii) but does serve as a guide; the highest recorded number of trained teachers was 133 in 1866 (I34). From 1870 to 1884, omitting the 1873-1877 period when returns were grossly defective, the figure never rose higher than the

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i. that training colleges would be reimbursed according to the number of ex-students teaching in grant-aided schools.

ii. particularly between 1873 and 1877 when some of the inspectors did not realise that it had to be made ! See MS. minute by Holgate 26th. June, 1877 attached to L.G.B. to C.C.E. 4th. May, 1877 MH 19/20. One assumes that the training colleges suffered financially because of this administrative failure in the poor law office.



99 achieved in 1880 (I35). Bearing in mind the 883 teachers working in pauper schools in 1876 (I36) we may generalise by saying that after 1870 roughly one teacher in ten in a pauper school was properly trained, or, as one writer picturesquely put it, "trained teachers from our colleges are as rare in workhouse schools as blackberries in May." (I37) Naturally the trained teachers would be found in the better paid posts in the large schools mostly in the metropolitan area; out of the 172 teachers who came within the scope of the 1896 Departmental Committee's inquiry, 41 masters and 19 mistresses were fully trained teachers, (I38) i.e. the bulk of the trained teachers then working in the country's pauper schools. An examination of the annual return of trained teachers in pauper schools also reveals that their average age increased as the century wore on; trained teachers who had achieved posts of responsibility in pauper schools during the years of promise stayed there, but their less well placed -though trained- contemporaries migrated to more promising fields of endeavour and were not replaced by any new influx of trained recruits from the colleges.

In the absence of a sufficient number of trained teachers, what hope was there of ameliorating the problem by using the pupil teacher system -"Kay Shuttleworth's greatest contribution to our educational institutions."? (I39) The legal difficulties abounded; how could a pauper child be kept at school at the cost of the rates after he was

ready for placing out? How could he receive payment? How in justice could a pauper child be given this opportunity of rising to a white collar job? Kay had surmounted these difficulties at Norwood (I40), but when, by a minute of December 18th. 1847, the Committee of Council sought to extend the official pupil teacher system into pauper schools generally (I41) there was grave talk in the poor law office of "insuperable" legal complications. (I42) Guardians could not, for example, as the Council minute demanded, indenture the pupil teachers, and the Poor Law Board refused to jeopardise a poor law amendment bill then in preparation by including, as the Committee of Council suggested, a clause regularising such a practice.<sup>c</sup> (I43) The difficulty was resolved by the Committee of Council agreeing to accept in place of the indenture evidence of a resolution by the guardians of the union concerned. (I44) The Eton Union led the way and appointed five pupil teachers legal difficulties were avoided by classing the boys as "officers", calling them "assistant teachers", their pay being their keep. They were each given a partitioned cubicle at the end of the dormitories and instead of the fustian uniform they were clothed in blue serge; they occupied the head of the table at meal times. (I45) The Poor Law Board agreed somewhat reluctantly to these arrangements, wishing the system to be used only where numbers warranted it. (I46) Far from regarding the pupil teachers as a pool of potential and partly trained teachers,

the poor law department regarded them as a cheap additional teaching force. The stipends for master and pupil came from the Committee of Council and the expense to the poor rate was the pupil's keep. In 1854 there were 81 of these "assistant teachers", and in 1861, 89. (I47) Throughout 1854 a debate ran between the poor law and education authorities, part of the constant bickering between the two departments responsible for the pauper schools, which almost brought the scheme to an end. The Committee of Council, since it paid the stipends, wished to include reference to the Committee's minutes regarding pupil teachers in the agreement between the guardians and teachers. The Poor Law Board objected to regulations of another department entering into a poor law matter. After threatening to withdraw all financial support from the pauper pupil teachers the Committee of Council gave way, provided that a Committee of Council inspector agreed to any proposed arrangement; (I48) Queen's scholarships were also open to pauper children and offered the chance for pupil teachers to obtain a college training. But the number of pupil teachers in pauper schools still remained surprisingly low; the inspectors of workhouse schools were far from being forceful in this matter - perhaps because it added to their work, for pupil teachers had to be separately examined. Tufnell refused to consider any but orphans for the post, but with this limitation, remained a supporter of the scheme; (I49) Bowyer though tha

a pauper school was not the place in which future teachers should be nurtured, (I50) whilst Symons considered that any pauper schoolmaster doing his duty could not possible give his pupil  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours instruction in the evening; the child's residence in a workhouse should not, he added, under any circumstances be prolonged. (I51) The revised code brought a <sup>o</sup> ~~sv~~erance of the Committee of Council from the poor law schools and eventually, in 1867, the Poor Law Board itself took over the Council's duties with regard to pauper pupil teachers; (I52) in the year ending Lady Day 1874 expenditure under this head amounted to £298 to the masters and £888 to the pupils. (I53) Kirkdale provides an example of how the scheme worked; in 1867 16 of its own pupils were employed as "assistant teachers" with the approval of the Poor Law Board; in July, 1867, an inspector examined them and 7 received Poor Law Board certificates so henceforth they were regular officers and their salaries were claimed from the parliamentary grant. In the following year these young teachers got even higher poor law certificates and in the Christmas examination for Queen's scholarships, 1868, 6 of the 7 were successful. (I54) Once a student got to a training college, however, the chances were that he would not return to a pauper school. Eventually in 1887 the pupil teacher system was deliberately tailed off in pauper schools; (I55) payments made by the Local Government Board to pupil teachers were not recoverable from the parliamentary grant in aid of salaries whereas those for genuine assistant teachers, however low their rating, were;

furthermore withdrawals from the grant had now begun to fall, so it seemed wise to dispende with the scheme. Henceforth a child who was to become a teacher would be presented to the inspector as a genuine assistant teacher, and the standards of the lower grades of the Local Government Board certificate were low enough for all but the most incompetent to qualify for their £15 from the parliamentary grant. Thus perished the second of Kay Shuttleworth's two schemes for the provision of teachers for pauper schools.

The modern teacher, who keeps his credentials decently interred within a cardboard cylinder, may well wonder at the amount of attention paid by nineteenth century teachers to the form of their qualifying certificates. In the case of teachers in poor law schools the subject was of extreme importance to their prestige. <sup>The poor law teacher</sup> He was inspected by an inspector who, after 1863, had nothing to do with the education department or with other types of school, and received a certificate, distinctively a poor law teacher's certificate, recording the grade at which he had been assessed and, by inference therefrom, the amount which the guardians could claim on his account from the parliamentary grant. This certificate was not the "parchment" certificate so zealously treasured by qualified teachers in ordinary elementary schools. ~~When a~~ There were many protests, particularly from the fully <sup>trained</sup> teachers in the poor law service who could never receive their "parchment" certificates whilst they remained in pauper

schools. The education department was naturally reluctant to give to another department the right to issue one of its own valued certificates. It even suggested that the regulations worked in favour of the pauper schools for the fact that the trained teachers were more likely to remain in the poor law when kept without their "parchment" certificates. The Local Government Board was quick to reply that, however true that might be, it also effectively cut off the future supply of trained teachers to the pauper schools. (I56) After considerable agitation the education department agreed in 1873 to admit to their examination for the certificate teachers who had spent at least one year in a training school or those over 21 who had completed two years satisfactory service in a pauper school provided they held the Efficiency certificate of the Local Government Board. This was quite preposterous since the number of "Efficiency" teachers was very few and these were already holding the few good posts in pauper schools. The education department was persuaded to allow the Competent teachers to enter for the certificate but even when the candidate was successful he was not allowed to receive his certificate whilst he remained in a pauper school; only when he left the poor law school and took up a post under the inspection of the Committee of Council would he be given the certificate he had earned. (I57). The Local Government Board kept up its pressure and another small concession was obtained in 1875; when a teacher who was otherwise qualified left the

pauper school and went to a public elementary school to get his "parchment" certificate, the Committee of Council would allow him to count the time spent in a pauper school as part of the qualifying time and the certificate would be issued after a minimum of three months in the elementary school. (I58) The final point was not conceded<sup>d</sup> until January, 1890 when the following arrangement was made: "When a teacher in a poor law school has completed the prescribed period of probation and the fact is reported by the Local Government Board to the education department, one of H.M. Inspectors will be directed to visit the school and make the necessary report upon which a certificate can be issued." (I59) The important final concession came much too late, however, to save the pauper schools from being supplied with third rate teachers only. An effective barrier had for too long been placed in the road of the ambitious poor law teacher and the intelligent trained teacher took the obvious alternative path, avoiding the dead end of pauper schools. "As is the master, so are the children," (It was the truism so often mouthed by the authorities, and now the wheel had come full circle for, as the following chapter will show, the recruitment of inferior teachers led to the lowering of standards of instruction.

Chapter 10. The Theory and Practice of  
Pauper Education.

"The training of a child should not be procured by coercion and restraint, but rather by inspiring him with a love of industry and knowledge."

Kay. 1841 Reports p.30.

"It is safe to conclude that children, in general, will not attend to their schoolwork if they can help it."

Browne. 1 L.G.B. 1871-2 appx. 32 p.237.

"It is folly to attempt to convert the English race into a nation of book-worms...cramming the brain with a rude unprofitable mass of ill-digested so-called knowledge which the brain refuses to assimilate..... Our wretched parrot-like systems of imparting it are going far to make our children the most learned fools in Christendom."

Clutterbuck. 6 L.G.B. 1876-7 appx. 30 p.85.

Why should the state undertake the education of pauper children ? Bentham believed that educating the poor was more important than educating the rich for education was a means of social organisation which the rich would provide for themselves. He believed that pauper children, in particular, should be educated, to redeem them "from a position in which as outcasts from society, they were likely to remain... a burden on the charity of the community or enemies to its property." (1)  
This Benthamite view of education as a means of eliminating pauperism was to appear again and again



throughout the century; <sup>(1)</sup> education would stop pauperism<sup>(2)</sup> would destroy hereditary pauperism (3), would check or diminish it (4), would remove its taint (5). The exact process was analysed by the Poor Law Commissioners as "reducing....pauperism by removing the consequences of a descent from a vicious parentage or the effect of a pauper nurture" (6), and by a union chairman as "eradicating those vicious principles and degrading habits to which the prevalence of pauperism...are (sic) mainly to be attributed" <sup>(7)</sup> By this theory the education of pauper children was nothing more than a device for saving the rates by eliminating pauperism.

The regular drain of the poor rate, however, did not alarm property owners as much as those occasional outbursts of violence by the lower orders which marked the first half of the nineteenth century. If education would put a stop to Luddism and "plug plots", where better to start than in the workhouse among the rising generation of paupers? Kay and Tufnell spoke (8) of training pauper children to cultivate "habits appropriate to the duties of the station which the child must occupy...steady and persevering labour...repose from toil among innocent enjoyments... avoid[ing]...vicious indulgences." The religious aspect was not forgotten; "the artificial

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1. It appears in Kay's writings as cause and effect; "England is the most pauperised country in Europe, and that in which the government has effected little or nothing for the education of the poorer classes." 1841 Reports p.21.

distinctions of society are as nothing before...God;  
 ...by religion the labourer knows how in daily toil he  
 fulfils the duties of his existence." The St. Pancras  
 chaplain was thinking along these lines when he concluded  
 the annual public examination of the workhouse children  
 in 1843 with a <sup>few</sup> words designed "to impress upon them  
 the duty of being contented <sup>(1)</sup> with their own station,  
 though it was a humble one." <sup>(11)</sup> The need for such a  
 "moralizing form of education" (9) was particularly  
 necessary, some thought, in the <sup>in</sup> industrial areas where  
 great agglomerations of ignorant and brutish workers  
 constituted an ever-present menace: "The more men are  
 collected together in masses the more important does  
 their education become," (10) And if the cost of  
 "spreading civilization and contentment among those who  
 now swell the dangerous classes of society" (11) was  
 held to be excessive, the guardians could be persuaded  
 that "it is equivalent to an insurance on our property,  
 as they are well able to visit neglectful treatment  
 with the severest retribution." (12)

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i. An abundance of Christian charity was needed by these children for they had been known to have slept as many as 8 to a 4'6" bed. H.B.Jones Report on St. Pancras Workhouse. [2008] 1856 xlix p.9-10 (8<sup>th</sup> Edn.)

ii. This well-worn cliché had an astounding effect upon one of the guardians. "I have had enough of Christ and humility, and such humbug," he shouted, and proceeded to distribute anti-Christian pamphlets.

9 P.L.C. 1843 appx. A 3 p.206.

"It is absolutely necessary that the children should be taught manual labour..." wrote Tufnell (I3) in the early days of the new poor law, for like many of his colleagues he placed high value upon the "industrial" element in pauper education. In Bentham's Outline of a Work entitled Pauper Management, 1798, the labour of the inmates had rendered the "panoptican" profit-making. The purpose of industrial training in pauper education was not, however, to save expenditure (I4) though in fact attention was drawn officially and otherwise to the profits that might be made from child-worked enterprises. (I5) "Industrial training" would, it was believed, inure the children to physical labour and prepare them for the hard life to come; the skills it imparted would enable them "to increase the comfort of their households in after life." (I6) The same skills had their part to play in developing national prosperity which depended upon recruiting well-instructed (1) children from the schools. There was a more immediate advantage, however, in the fact that industrial training would give the pauper child those simple skills which he needed to get a job and which other children picked up incidentally in the home. (I7) An industrial element in a pauper child's education would thus render superfluous the bribes and threats hitherto used by guardians to get

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I. So Kay in 1838. 1841 Reports p.21. This argument was to be developed by Lyon Playfair in his Industrial Education on the Continent, 1853, and thence re-applied to pauper education by Dr. Clutterbuck. 5 L.G.B. 1875-6 appx. 21 p.161-3.

employers to take children from the workhouse. (18)

The evidence so far adduced is concerned with the benefits, conferred by the education of paupers, on society. One only of the officials concerned with pauper education looked at the problem from the child's point of view. Here, as in other directions, T.B.Browne, inspector of workhouse schools, took an individual line. Instead of seeking to eradicate supposed inherent moral weaknesses or to inhibit supposed vicious tendencies, he aimed at developing the child's abilities; for <sup>him</sup> ~~some~~ the school was a place for education not social engineering. In an age when children in the infant school could, as Browne himself witnessed, (19) be drilled into reeling off the names of the books in the new testament or the islands in the Mediterranean, it is refreshing to find "accumulation of knowledge" preceded in his scheme by the duty of God and man, the ability to think rightly and discreetly and the development of body and mind. (20) Always he placed the individual child foremost; "the object of education is to train a responsible agent, for his own benefit here and hereafter as well as for that of others, and to enable him to use the faculties which an all-wise Creator has given to none in vain." (21) Nor was he stampeded by the arguments for a large amount of industrial and physical work; "the desire to train poor children in such a manner as to make the formation of useful drudges the primary object has always been a great practical obstacle to education," (22) he wrote, and again, "notwith-

standing the undeniable importance of industrial training ...the primary object of all education is to form a man and not merely a useful drudge." (23) These are fine sentiments but unfortunately, of all the inspectors, Browne had the least influence upon central office policy. The view of the man who stood in front of the class did not, however, extend to these wider horizons. The modest aims of Green, the West London Union schoolmaster, "to awaken...as far as possible habits of thought and observation, and present them with the two essential arts of reading and writing", (24) were probably sufficient with the addition, perhaps, of what his contemporaries called "cyphering".

Kay's experimental work at Norwood, "simultaneous" class teaching (25) and learning by comprehension rather than rote, (26) belongs as much to the history of education as it does to that of pauperism. Kay left the pauper schools in 1839, however, and in 1847 the newly-appointed inspectors found that the Norwood example had not been followed. A friend of Tufnell found some pauper children who were ignorant of the number of bushels in a quarter of corn, or indeed of the distance to London; their master intervened and triumphantly saved the day, as he thought, by successfully eliciting from the children the specific gravity of Jupiter and its distance from the earth. (27) Kay's words "Everything that is learned must be understood" (28) and "Nothing

can be learned by mere rote," (29) were soon forgotten and the mass-answering "chanting " technique existed everywhere; Browne considered it the hall-mark of lazy teaching and noticed how dumb children trained in this way became when their leaders were away.(30) He preferred a "rapid and animated manner" (31) to "haranguing".(32) Clutterbuck too noticed the deadening effect of endless formal repetitions. (33) Pleas such as this were made throughout the period, but the high promise of the early days was not fulfilled; pauper schools had for the most part to make do with inferior teachers lacking the spirit and initiative needed to escape from the imagined security of rote teaching.

Many pauper schools were housed in buildings which dated from the early days of the new poor law. Though often unsuitable for educational purposes, they represented a considerable investment in bricks and mortar and reconstruction was not lightly undertaken. In 1875 Holgate was complaining ~~th~~ of schools using the same room as classroom, dining room and play room; bad buildings were the chief obstacle to educational improvement, he added. (34) Even the large schools were not always well designed. Their very size was a draw back and at the end of the century some of the large "blocks" were being cut through to make them into separate houses.

Books are even more important than buildings where education is concerned. Before 1847 each teacher fought a lone battle with the guardians for the provision of

books and other apparatus, and the result was far from satisfactory; "in most cases," wrote an inspector, "the major part of the books were battered, torn or otherwise mutilated, and it is rare not to see in the closets or desks of the teachers an accumulated litter of leaves of testaments, bibles and prayer books, torn catechisms, and smeared useless writing copies and arithmetical tables." (35)

Two steps were taken to improve matters; firstly the parliamentary grant in aid of the teachers' salaries was made conditional upon the guardians supplying such books and apparatus as the inspector thought necessary for the school. Secondly it was arranged that guardians could obtain approved literature and apparatus through the Poor Law Board at an average discount<sup>^</sup> of over 40%. (36) The Poor Law Board <sup>did not wish</sup> ~~refused to allow~~ guardians to have relations with another department, and refused to accept the Committee of Council's offer to include pauper schools in the existing discount scheme. (37) An entirely duplicate system was established using the official poor law publishers, whose 10% commission found disfavour with at least one board of guardians. (38) By the end of 1849 schools formerly deficient in books and equipment were now well supplied, (39) but pauper children seemed to be less careful of their books than other children - it was suggested that this was a consequence of free education (40— and replacements were constantly needed. The traditional parsimony of some guardians also had its effect; maps

were often out of date (41) and walls often bore "mean, badly printed, and nearly illegible scripture prints." (42) A new generation of guardians was more enlightened, however, and the magic lantern which appeared at Kirkdale in 1875 (43) eventually became a common piece of pauper school equipment. (44) These arrangements were designed solely for the supply of educational equipment; recreational material had to be provided by private charity. As early as 1842 a doctor had recommended that the children in the Nottingham workhouse should be provided with a swing, bats, traps and balls to aid their physical development, (45) yet it was not till 1891 that the Local Government Board officially authorised the purchase of toys and books for recreational purposes (46), though an inspector had suggested such a plan nearly twenty years before. (47)

No account of an educational system is complete without reference to the rewards and punishments employed. The pauper child was at a peculiar disadvantage in this matter; the philosophy of the "taint" of pauperism led his masters to believe that the very strictest regime was required if he was to be reformed; he was by law segregated from those who might support him should injustice arise; the school itself was sealed off from the general community and was not readily susceptible to influence by general public opinion; there was no alternative school. On the side of the master, let it be said at once that his task was far from easy. Before 1834 it took the boys of



Covent Garden just two days to size up their new teacher, a trained man; they "all rose up in rebellion...[and] were so ungovernable that he could not manage them." (48) Even violent corporal did not seem to affect such children as these; onemaster "could not keep the boys in order though he had broken several sticks on them." (49) Even really experienced teachers found pauper schools difficult; Mrs. Elizabeth Adams, a 46 year old widow, had 16 years experience in a National School but resigned at the end of her first week at Ludlow Union school for "fear that she should be unable to manage the school in the winter" (when the roll would increase) (50); one must had, however, that her successor, a 22year old former governess, was strikingly successful. Kay had little time for the permanent use of corporal punishment; "as soon as the school is organised, and the children have been trained into docility, degrading punishments are to the last degree prejudicial to their moral improvement; all corporeal punishment should at an early period fall into disuse, and the necessity of resorting to punishment of any kind frequently is to be regarded as a proof of the incompetency of the teacher." (51) Kay's successor in Norfolk reported that floggings were rare but children were made to stand in the centre of the school room, were deprived of their walk or even had their rations reduced, though he preferred the orthodox use of the birch to cutting down food. (52) The schoolmaster at

Chailey Union punished two girls by confining them in a solitary room for 6 hours and then standing them in the school room for the rest of the day bearing a placard describing their offences. (53) The schoolmaster at Tunbridge used a variety of means to bring pressure upon his pupils; some he shamed out of their vices, others he segregated and some he allowed to develop an affection for him and then played upon it by withdrawing his friendliness. (54) Green of the West London Union gained the confidence of the pupils first and let them see that punishment was given not as an act of caprice but for a definite infringement of a stated code. (55) In November, 1841, a case reported from the Wantage Union of 12 year old boys being placed on a reduced diet for seven days led the Poor Law Commissioners to formulate a policy on the question of punishments and this brought to an end the era of free improvisation in this difficult matter.

Dietary reductions for children under 12 were forbidden without a certificate from the medical officer allowing it; confinement from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. was not allowed without proper bedding and conveniences; a child under 12 was not allowed to be left in a dark room day or night; only a workhouse or school master could give a boy corporal punishment; no girl was to receive such punishment; only a rod or other instrument seen and approved by the guardians could be used for corporal punishment and six hours had to elapse before the

(1)  
 punishment was administered; if possible both the  
 workhouse master and the schoolmaster should be present  
 when corporal punishment was given and in any case it was  
 not to be given to anyone over 14. A punishment book  
 was to be kept in which all cases of corporal punishment  
 were entered. (56) Corporal punishment was thus permitted  
 but the Commissioners made it clear that its use was  
 disapproved. Repeating Kay's claim that the use of the  
 cane indicated inefficient teaching, the Commissioners  
 pointed to Norwood where there was no such punishment at  
 all. (57) A case of a schoolmistress who, having slapped  
 an "extremely contumacious" child on the back, was fined  
 for assault, was promulgated in the Official Circular (58);  
 again, when the Abingdon girls got out of hand on learning  
 that they were immune to caning, the Commissioners were  
 quite unhelpful, their comment being that the cane had  
 been used too much heretofore or the mistress was  
 incompetent. (59) Nevertheless caning continued despite  
 the authorities' disapproval and the regulations were not  
 always observed; one inspector declared that two hours  
 rarely elapsed between an offence and the cane being  
 given (60). A social worker quoted a case of a child  
 beaten till the skin came off with her clothes, for being  
 unable to spell a word correctly; and again instanced a  
 matron beating girls with a knotted rope, one end being  
 permanently looped for convenience of holding. (61)

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1. later reduced to two hours.

A return made in 1873 confirms the impression that caning was fairly general; even the Central London School (Norwood's successor) admitted to caning 14 boys in the previous six months, whilst Holyhead and Monmouth each reported giving corporal punishment to 7 year olds, and Shardlow in Derbyshire recorded the corporal punishment of a six year old child. (62) A punishment<sup>book</sup> for the training ship Exmouth has survived and shows that corporal punishment was an every day occurrence in 1901. Typical punishments were:-

April 22nd.	Stealing and losing a ship's boat. 7 boys received 6-12 strokes each with the birch.
April 24th.	Wetting his bed and concealing it. 6 strokes with birch.
May 13th.	Putting a stone through the mangle. 4 strokes with cane.
May 22nd.	Filthing bed. 6 with birch.
Oct. 5th.	Teasing boys with pepper at their noses. 8 strokes with cane.
Nov. 8th.	Damaging a bugle while skylarking. 3 strokes with cane. (63)

At the end of the century a lady guardian who tried to stop the cane being used on the bare body, was confounded by the rejoinder that almost every public school in the country followed this custom. (64) Much that is fine in the English tradition of state education was copied from the public schools; unfortunately<sup>not</sup> all that was copied was desirable. There was little hope that corporal punishment, whilst used in the schools for the rich,

could ever be eradicated from those which served the  
 (1)  
 poor.

On the other side of the picture there can be no doubt that every moral influence possible was brought to bear upon the children. The Commissioners advised chaplains to stress "the relation between the present and future condition of the children," (65) but most schools required something a little more tangible to offer by way of encouragement. Kay had noticed that some private schools used "badge" systems but he believed that knowledge should be given its own natural attractions and had no need of rewards and personal distinctions. (66) Nevertheless such distinctions were often used in pauper schools; badges were a feature of the reformed discipline at the Birmingham school after 1857 (67) and monitors in many schools were given special uniforms of superior material and distinctive colour. One monitor, recalling the day he left the workhouse school to go to a district school, wrote : " As I stood in the ranks ...some of the other boys smiled at me; others said outright that I need not expect to be a monitor at Sutton and get four pence a week for telling tales." (68) For the mass of children there was the pleasure of going for a walk outside the workhouse, extra reading in the evenings, the use of particular gymnastic apparatus denied to others, and annual

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1. See appendix for further evidence regarding the use of corporal punishment.

examinations for prizes open only to those who had earned a certain number of good conduct marks. (69) The prizes had to be provided by private charity until the Local Government Board allowed <sup>such</sup> expenditure for ~~such purposes~~ (70) though some guardians were reluctant to use public funds for this purpose. (71)

The official workhouse rules, later eens incorporated into the General Consolidated Order, placed boys and girls over seven into two different classes and required them to be segregated within the workhouse, for education as well as for other purposes. (72) Mixed schools were, however, more economical and, moreover, Kay and Tufnell had noticed that in Scotland and "the best educated nations of the continent such as Holland, the practice is universal." Many children were already brothers and sisters and it was natural to educate them together; as for immorality there was greater danger of this when the sexes were educated apart. (73) Kay recommended that co-education should be started in the singing and scripture periods, the natural extensions of the divine service which the sexes already attended together. (74) In 1848 the Poor Law Board sanctioned the mixture of boys and girls in school in view of the "benefi<sup>c</sup>ial influence which the different nature and qualities of the one exercise over those of the other." Where a schoolmistress was employed, however, she was not to be dispensed with for the board envisaged the children being taught together for two or three hours only every day.

"On such occasions, however, the schoolmaster and schoolmistress should both be present, and use the greatest caution and vigilance to prevent the evil consequences which might possibly follow from allowing young people of such a description to mix unrestrainedly together."

Boys and girls were to sit on separate forms and were to leave the room separately accompanied by their respective teachers. (75) Such a compromise solution was not capable of universal application, however, and Tufnell told the Newcastle Commission that none of the district schools had mixed classes apart from infants under seven. (1)

Completely mixed schools were rare but were most frequently found in the district inspected by Bowyer who was a strong supporter of the idea; (76) such mixed schools were usually very small. Clutterbuck, Bowyer's colleague, did not share his optimism: "Relationships of a character not reckoned on may ... result from such an artificial imitation of the ties of kindred," (77) and the risk was justifiable only where numbers were very low. (78) Prejudice on this matter continued and Mozley, in the late seventies, felt compelled to withhold the name of a school where boys played in the band whilst the girls danced quadrilles, to avoid "unreasonable censure." (79)

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1. Royal Commission 1861 vol.I. p.402. Tufnell meant the district schools in the metropolitan area; the South East Shropshire District School at Quatt was, in fact, mixed: "Their playgrounds are different, and their work is different; but for the purposes of education they are often mixed." S.C. (1853) Crim. & Dest. Children. p.275.

The pauper school curriculum was at first limited. The modest "three hours reading, writing and religion" daily (80) called for by the Commissioners was not unanimously approved for the Bedford guardians sought to exclude writing lest the children's academic accomplishments should become an inducement to pauperism. (81) The Commissioners rejoinder pointed out that the occasion and place of such schooling should be a sufficient deterrent and pointed out that the Bedford guardians' plan would stigmatise pauper children for they would be unique in being able to read yet not write. The Poor Law Board had to reproduce these arguments in 1848 when another board of guardians sought to prevent the schoolmistress from teaching writing or arithmetic. (82) Though not in the first instance specifically demanded by regulation, Arithmetic was clearly thought to be necessary; a form issued in 1838 with regard to teachers included the query "Does the instruction include reading, writing and cyphering?" (83) and in Norfolk and Suffolk at least, in 1838, there were few schools not teaching all the three Rs. (84) Eventually when the earlier regulations were brought together into the General Consolidated Order of 1847 the three basic subjects were specified. (85)

The methods employed in teaching the basic subjects owed much to the reports compiled by Dr. Kay when he was an assistant poor law commissioner and reflected the ideas he had acquired during his educational journeys in Scotland and on the continent. In reading he advised using the Scots system which taught the mechanics by phonic methods (86) and



tested comprehension by oral questioning. (87) Kay's legacy, when he left Norfolk and Suffolk, was a group of Scots trained teachers who had given the children a real literary taste and an understanding of language which included a knowledge of Latin roots. (88) Some regarded the reading class as an occasion for inculcating "morals" (89), whilst T.B. Browne thought it could exercise a "purifying, expanding and invigorating influence..." giving a man inner resources which would "counteract that craving, for society which, among the working classes, leads so often to intemperance." (90) When visitors came to the school it went without saying that the children would be asked to read aloud. When the visitor was the inspector and the teacher's salary and even livelihood depended upon the fluency of the children's performance, we may be sure that no pains were spared. Once, in the early fifties, Tufnell noticed that some of the fluent readers in one school had their books upside down, a detail which led him to discover that the children could not read at all but were merely repeating passages from the book which had been memorised. (91)

The second of the common man's Trivium, writing, included handwriting, composition and grammar. Kay had been impressed by Mulhauser's writing method (92) and eventually arranged to have an adaption of this method published by the Committee of Council. (93) Slavish imitation of the model was the method employed and it is perhaps a criticism of the pauper schools to have to record

that this subject was thought to be the most generally successful of all the subjects taught. (94) In composition the most frequent complaint was the children's paucity of ideas, a reflection, one feels, of the cramped institutional life which was their lot. Spelling was tested by means of dictation though this was sometimes varied by asking the children to reproduce a studied passage in the original wording. (95)

A pinched cultural background is no drawback where mechanical arithmetic is concerned. The tricks are merely learned and performed when the appropriate signals are given. Significantly, when it came to arithmetical problems involving the application of arithmetical principles to real situations, the children failed. (96) Mental arithmetic was often developed as a show-piece for the astonishment of visitors; teachers concentrated upon rapidity and complexity rather than upon the practical. (97) Dickens humorously described one of these astounding displays at the Stepney Union school: "Take the square of 5, multiply it by 15, divide it by 3, deduct 8 from it, add 4 dozen to it, give me the result in pence, and tell me how many eggs I could get for it at  $\frac{2}{3}$ d a piece. The problem is hardly stated, when a dozen small boys pour out answers." (98)

The only other specified subject which no pauper school was allowed to omit was religious instruction. This was intended to be much more than bible study; "moral

training pervades every hour of the day, from the period when the children are marched from their bedrooms to the wash-house in the morning, to that when they are marched back to their bedrooms at night." (99) The Commissioners themselves recommended teaching the "sanctions of religion" (100) and this "moralizing form of education" (101) was particularly favoured by those who looked upon pauper education as a national insurance policy against crime and revolt. Mozley was more enlightened and thought of religious instruction in terms of the child's own life; it could elevate the downcast temperament typical of the pauper child. (102) The subject was often eschewed in inspectors' reports, however, for religion had already wrecked many plans for national education and the organisers of pauper education were anxious to avoid similar trouble. The pauper schools contained children of every creed; they were built, staffed and maintained by public funds and the public authority was, in fact, in loco parentis in the case of a large number of the inmates. Over all was the conscience clause in the Poor Law amendment act allowing a parent or guardian to have a child withdrawn from religious instruction. Real difficulty was experienced only in the case of Roman Catholic children, and this was overcome when the Roman Catholics established certified schools for the children of their faith. For the remainder there was as T.B.Browne thought (103), a hard core of religious knowledge, especially among Protestants, which could be

agreed upon as an adequate minimum. This "agreed syllabus" was never specified but was worked out by the teacher under the supervision of the chaplain. (IO4)

The subjects so far mentioned were all that were specifically demanded by regulation. "Rearing the children in religion, morality and industry" (IO5) could hardly be encompassed, however, within a framework of letters, moral platitudes and figures. The General Consolidated Order spoke of "such other instruction ...as may fit [the children] for service and train them to habits of usefulness, industry and virtue"; the duties of the teachers were to include regulating the industrial<sup>ty</sup> and moral training of the children. (IO6) Clearly then, more than the basic four subjects was expected and guardians and teachers, under the guidance of the inspector, were left free to devise their own curriculum of additional subjects both academic and industrial. The tendency was to justify each such addition in terms of its utility as a dispauperising agent. A guardian<sup>s</sup> from Atcham, for example, did not consider the basic educational skills as of primary importance; "a strict regard for truth...an abhorrence of swearing... habits of order, industry and cleanliness... little arts useful to them in after life" were more to the point. (IO7) Dr. Clutterbuck, an inspector, had clear ideas on judging the value of any additional ~~in~~ subjects; "does the acquisition of such and such a piece of knowledge tend directly to make a boy and girl self-supporting and self-

dependent? This is the true measure of value in determining a pauper child's curriculum of education. Any piece of knowledge which does not conform to this criterion should unhesitatingly be rejected." (IO8) There was small scope here for the "sweetness and light" of his fellow inspector, and in the event though development on the academic side was limited, extensions of the curriculum on the industrial side were considerable, especially in the larger schools.

It became the hallmark of a good pauper school to teach the environmental subjects. These had a practical use, the headmaster of the Swinton, Manchester, school pointed out; geography encouraged emigration (an infallible means of dispauperising a child, at any rate as regards the English poor law) , and history demonstrated the blessings of good government and placed its student beyond the reach of the agitator and vulgar demagogue.(IO9) Naturally, some guardians,(IIO) and even inspectors, (III) thought that such studies were out of place in a pauper schools and Holgate found that, in his area, most of the history the children knew had been picked up from their readers. (II2) In the north too Mozley found that history was neglected though geography was more generally taught, particularly at Swinton and at Kirkdale where the children could draw maps. (II3) Advocates of "project" methods may be interested to learn that Mozley advised treating these environmental subjects broadly, approaching the

larger themes by way of local studies. (II4)

Music took two forms -singing and band. Singing should be taught, thought one headmaster, for "patriotic reasons" (II5) whilst Kay thought that it led to a "more decorous performance of divine service and introduced an enlivening exercise into the ordinary routine of school discipline." (II6) The inspectorate had to warn against raising a few children to a high peak <sup>(1)</sup> of efficiency whilst the majority were neglected; (II7) and also against practising secular singing in the chapel. (II8) The inspectors grew tired of hearing the same songs year after year; there was need, said one, for a volume of "good and cheerful singing." (II9)

Brass band training was developed in the first place to secure the future of some, at least, of the pauper boys, for a trained band boy was readily taken into the army and navy, even if, like many paupers, he were somewhat stunted. Once the bands made their appearance -first at the St. George the Martyr School, Mitcham (I20) and at Portsea Island (I21)- a band became a feature in most of the large schools, for it was discovered that it was also an asset in marshalling large numbers of children. The Kensington and Chelsea band led the whole school up and down their "village" street each morning (I22) and the Central London District School children marched into meals in time to the

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1. At Caerleon, the Newport Union children could sight read part songs by tonic sol-fa. 6 L.G.B. 1876-1877 appx.30 p.87.

band. (I23) There was also what some believed to be the "humanizing" influence (I24) of music upon the coarse nature of the lower classes. Fortunately there was no lack of musical talent in the lower classes, (I25) and six or seven months were sufficient to reach adequate proficiency. (I26) Nevertheless there were objections to the scheme; "less eligibility" was raised, for what independent labourer could afford to give his child a musical training? (I27) Some thought that learning an instrument might lead to dissipation (I28) and there was also the danger of pulmonary strain, (I29) to say nothing of the risk of producing not regimental bandsmen but street musicians. (I30) Nevertheless the opportunity of permanently raising hundreds of boys into a respectable position could not be neglected and the objections were overcome.

Where physical education was developed as a subject in pauper schools it appeared as "drill". Tufnell claimed that manufacturers found "three drilled men...equivalent in effective force to five undrilled," adding that the "extending motions" promoted health and eradicated the pauper's slouch. (I31) Anyone who doubted its value, he averred, should see the 1,100 children at Hanwell march in to dinner in the space of five minutes. <sup>(1)</sup> Ex-soldiers were employed as drill instructors and the drill soon

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i. G.C.T. Bartley's Schools for the People, 1871 has a lithograph depicting this gargantuan performance, one of the sights of the time.

became military in character. Wooden bayonets made their appearance and huge reviews, inspected by Royal and other personages, were held at the Crystal Palace and elsewhere. (I32) These led the Times to suggest (I33) that the army should be recruited from the pauper schools -the state having given the pauper children an expensive education should recoup itself by directing them into the army; the "State's children" would be "the State's defenders". Tufnell's successors found it necessary to curb the concentration on display; "celerity of movement" was preferable to "accuracy of formation" (I34), said one, "showy exercises" at the Albert Hall and Crystal Palace were not wanted, said another; apparatus should be introduced, school time should be used, and girls be exercised as well as boys. (I35) Dumb bells, iron bars and the trapeze (I36) now made their appearance, sometimes, as at Tunbridge Wells, the gift of a philanthropist (I37), yet even this kind of drill tended to lead to public displays. (I38) Swimming had always played a notable part in the life of the training ships but it was also developed elsewhere. Larger schools had their own baths and the Local Government Board sanctioned the employment of visiting instructors, though permanent officers who undertook the instruction could supplement their salaries by receiving a small fee for each child ~~ta~~ taught to swim. (I39)

"Industrial instruction" was at first taken to refer to modifications of those time-consuming yet easily supervised tasks used as labour tests in the adult wards.



There are numerous examples in the early days of the new poor law of boys and girls picking oakum, sorting bristles (I40), and making hooks and eyes. (I41) Kay used Norwood yet again to demonstrate what could be done to replace such valueless drudgery; a field was laid out in agricultural plots, visitors' horses were groomed, the buildings were repaired, a seaman took naval drill on a newly-erected mast, and a Portsmouth seaman gunner demonstrated artillery drill with the aid of four six-pounders. (I42) Agricultural training was best developed as would be expected in the country unions, (I43) whilst, prior to the establishment of the training ship "Goliath" sea training was most notably carried out at Stepney.<sup>(1)</sup> But genuine trades were also developed in the better schools and a list of trades taught in the metropolitan schools in 1858 included carpentry, tailoring, steam-engine maintenance, shoe-making, music (i.e. brass band work), cooking, baking, sewing, dairy work, laundry work and housework. (I44) Such wide diversity of occupation was the result of persistent efforts on the part of the Committee of Council which had also managed in 1851, to persuade a somewhat reluctant Poor Law Board to employ tradesmen at the schools not as workmen being helped by a few children, but as industrial instructors responsible for teaching a trade. (I45) After considerable delay Treasury agreement was obtained in 1853, (I46) and eventually in 1855 the industrial instructors' salaries were made chargeable, in whole or in part, to the grant for teachers.

1. See Dickens' Uncommercial Traveller ch.xxix. (I47)

A circular of 1867 (I48) allowed full reimbursement of salary for those wholly employed in instructing children; those -e.g. bakers- whose services were only partly devoted to the children's instruction were allowed to claim part only of their salary from the parliamentary grant. The industrial instruction given to girls was, of course, largely domestic. Aubin spoke (I49) of habituating the girls to "daily labour in scouring, bed-making, cooking, washing, ironing, mangling, cutting out, sewing, knitting,, etc. [30] that they are... prepared to undertake the duties of "maids of all work" and to bear with contentment the labour of domestic servants in a very humble sphere." Thus, under the guise of industrial training, much of the domestic work of the larger establishments, "the never-ending scrubbing of vast dormitories and dreary corridors, the preparation of vegetables by the bushel, the mending of clothes by the hundred" was accomplished (I50) with the aid of child labour. When domestic work was behind-hand girls were kept from their lessons till it was done, (I51) but Mrs. Senior's report in 1873 did much to lessen the pressure of domestic labour upon the children, and in 1878 the Oswestry Union was actually sending girls out to a "school of cookery" for special instruction. (I52) In the same year a prize for needlework open to the whole ~~the~~ town was won by a Stockton-on-Tees pauper girl. (I53) The public wished the workhouse girl to be nothing more than a good scrubber, a capable needlewoman and a satisfactory cook. All else

was superfluous. "It may be very well to know the names of all the seas in Europe and the heights of all the mountains," wrote the Edinburgh Review in 1875, "as we have been assured that many of the girls in the metropolitan district schools do; but it is of more importance that they should, say, know how to mend their own stockings, which we have been credibly informed they do not." (154)

The poor law orders did not indicate what standard was to be achieved in the various subjects, and wide variations existed; there were the miserable achievements of schools taught by ex-paupers and the outstanding success of Norwood, one of the finest schools in the country. The first imposition of objective standards came with the establishment of a school inspectorate in 1847; henceforth the teacher's salary was graded according to his proficiency and the educational state of his charges.

There can be little doubt that in their early days, the best of the poor law schools were good schools judged by the standard of contemporary schools for the working class. Tufnell declared that "three months education in a well-conducted workhouse, as I have frequently heard it remarked, is worth to the children almost as many years of such instruction as they can get at home by attending village schools." (155) Even after 1870, and despite the many hard things he had said about them, Tufnell still believed the small workhouse schools to be superior to village schools. "Children from these small workhouses",

he told Chadwick in 1879, "turn out better than ordinary village children." (156) These conclusions, however, may well be considered to be those of one whose enthusiasm sometimes obscured his judgement. Nevertheless there were advantages attached to pauper school education which, in the hands of capable teachers, could lead to excellent results. They were the opportunities peculiar to what, after all, was, as Browne pointed out, (157) a boarding school education, and, in an age when this was exceptional, a school where the children were regular in attendance. (158) Some of the abler teachers took advantage of these opportunities by pushing on to advanced work far superior to that commonly tackled in such schools, but their efforts received little encouragement; "the encyclopaedic system or mania for omniscience, besets education at present," declared Browne, (159) and the Committee of Council called in 1857 for less advanced work in the poor law schools with more concentration upon practical groundwork in the basic subjects. (160) Symons took particular pains to implement this policy cutting out what he called "higher flights" and insisting upon basic local practical knowledge. History was discouraged and in needle work he "effectively abolished all fancy work; what is done is useful, homely and strong." (161) Even where the teachers were not particularly outstanding, creditable results were achieved in many cases; though less might be attempted than was usual in National or British schools, what was done was well done. The

classes were smaller and under better control for, what one inspector called "the drudgery of learning," far from being distasteful, came as a relief to the workhouse child. (I62)

It is not surprising, therefore, that when the Royal Commission on Popular Education received its assistant commissioners' reports in 1858 several declared that the workhouse schools were the most efficient of the elementary schools, (I63) and we may surmise that if the best pauper schools were not as outstanding as they had been, this was due to a gradual levelling up of the country's schools. Mozley carried out an interesting comparison between the achievements of boys from the excellent Kirkdale and Swinton schools and those from a grammar school. Right up to 16 the pauper boys could read better than the grammar school boys yet the latter easily surpassed them when it came to original composition. (I64) Clearly all that mental drilling could achieve was done and until other schools became adept at such drudgery pauper schools held their lead. The effect of the Revised Code, reinforced by the stimulus provided by the 1870 Education Act brought formidable rivals into the field. Most important of all the way was now clear for the best teachers to desert poor law schools. Holgate, who had formerly inspected for the Committee of Council, knew the standards existing outside the field of pauper education and his opinion in 1875 was that union children were little in arrears of ordinary elementary children except in intelligence; (I65) yet

he had charge of the inspection of the metropolitan area containing almost <sup>all</sup> the most outstanding pauper schools. So far the public elementary system and the pauper system had been working in parallel and comparison was difficult; in 1878, however, the two systems were brought together by setting for pauper children the standards laid down in the educational code for non-pauper children of the same age. (I6 Examination was, however, carried out by the poor law inspectors of workhouse schools, not by the Committee of Council inspectors, and it was suggested by some (I67), and even admitted by an inspector himself (I68), that workhouse standards of passing were lower than elementary school standards. The workhouse schools inspectors produced very few statistics of the passes they awarded, but those that are available (I69) show that even with the lower standards of passing the children in the pauper schools were not reaching the standards of children in elementary schools. Reverend Joseph Wood compared the statistics given by Clutterbuck for his district in 1879-1881 with the figures available for the elementary schools of the whole country and showed that pauper children were inferior on every point; to give one figure only, 42% of Clutterbuck's entrant passed in all subjects compared with 61% for the elementary schools. Wood concluded that "the educational position of workhouse schools is far below that of public elementary schools." (I70) Naturally the greatest difficulty was experienced in the higher standards of the code; it was

noticed that pauper children could read the words but failed to comprehend the subject matter as demanded by the code. Dictation was the pauper children's strong point but when it came to free composition they were lost. In Arithmetic their mechanical work was of the best but their ability in arithmetical reasoning failed them. (I71)

Clearly the pinched background and lack of a full and varied life was hampering the mental development of these children. What could be achieved by the mechanical application of rules of thumb<sup>u</sup> was done but when it came to imaginative work requiring initiative and experience the pauper children were lost. Inspired teaching might well have overcome these environmental difficulties but that was not available.

Even within the workhouse itself environmental influences affected the academic achievements of the children; girls were said to do less well than boys. "Boys generally in workhouse schools show more common sense and desire for information than girls; this is no doubt in some measure to be accounted for by the greater freedom of their life." (I72) The girls were ceaselessly engaged, even at lesson times, in domestic work (I73) and could not attack their scholastic work with zest. Girls were particularly weak at arithmetic; Mozley suggested that the "feminine mind is less well adapted to abstract thought than the masculine mind", (I74) but was perhaps nearer the mark when he admitted that it was not exceptional for a schoolmistress to be unable to teach arithmetic. (I75)

The general position at the end of the period under review was revealed in the report of the Departmental Committee of 1894-1896; apart from religious instruction in which they outshone Board school children, pauper children were, age for age, below the standards achieved in the ordinary elementary schools. (176) When we recall that this committee's report had reference only to the metropolitan schools which, academically, at any rate, were the finest poor law schools in the country, the true position of pauper education may be gauged. Poor law schools, once the pride of the land, had, if anything gone back in the years of educational development following 1870 when other schools were going ahead. The logical conclusion was for the Education Department which had helped to <sup>bring about</sup> ~~engineer~~ these advances in the elementary schools to take over the administration of the pauper schools too, a step which was not taken till early in the following century.



Chapter II. The Administration and Inspection  
of Pauper Schools.

"The problem presented by the pauper children.....  
 was of all questions the one that put them most continuously  
 in perplexity."

S. & B. Webb English Poor Law History II 1  
 p.254.

"Oh may the Poor Law Board considerate act,  
 And interfere the pauper to protect.

The Workhouse, a poem; by x x x x x , published by  
 Job Caudwell, 353 Strand, W.C. (Opposite Somerset  
 House.) " (1864) p.10.

For the whole of the period under review pauper  
 schools were centrally administered by poor law officials.  
 In addition the local executives were elected for purposes  
 other than education and it was therefore a matter of  
 chance whether a school's management was active or not  
 in educational affairs. (I) The sole link with an  
 educational authority was the pauper schools' inspectorate  
 set up by the Committee of Council in 1847, but this too  
 came under poor law control in 1863. Even whilst its  
 inspectors had remained in the pauper schools, the Committee  
 of Council had found it difficult to influence the condition  
 of pauper education. Administered, officered and  
 inspected (for most of the time) by poor law officials,  
 the pauper schools remained poor law institutions which  
 happened to be schools, never schools which happened to  
 be poor law institutions.

The Poor Law Amendment Act was first put into the

hands of a commission of three known as the Poor Law Commissioners whose <sup>(1)</sup> address at Somerset House became notorious. The powers of the Commissioners were renewed by parliament for short periods but it became clear that a department not directly represented in parliament could not survive. In 1847 a more traditional form of control was adopted and the Poor Law Board was established on the model of the Board of Trade, its president representing the department in the commons. The work of the board increased in scope and in 1871 the poor law and other departments were amalgamated to form the Local Government Board which remained the responsible authority till it was in turn replaced by the Ministry of Health in 1919.

The Commissioners had been represented in the government and in parliament by the Home Secretary; Sir James Graham's tenure of that office (1841 to 1846) showed what a vigorous and interested Home Secretary, himself an ex-guardian of the poor, could do for the poor law department. With the advent of the Poor Law Board cabinet representation ceased for the president, though a member of the commons, was not a cabinet-member. Milner-Gibson, president for a month in 1859, and his successor C.P.Villiers (2) who held the office till 1866, were the first to have cabinet rank. Henceforth, with certain significant exceptions, the head

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1. Somerset House was at 1 and 2 Somerset Place; in 1856 the office was moved to Gwydyr House in Whitehall and then to the new building erected opposite which remained the home of the Local Government Board and its successor, the Ministry of Health. S. & B. Webb English Poor Law History II 1 p. III.

of the poor law ministry was always a cabinet member. The first Presidents of the Poor Law Board were far from being distinguished (3) but a new department could hardly expect to attract the best talent. For similar reasons the office staff was far from exceptional; only George Nicholls -formerly one of the Commissioners- stands out as head of the department but this deficiency was more than made up by the excellence of Hugh Owen, the department's "chief clerk" as he liked to style himself. (4) From 1859 on the department seemed to gain in confidence; the long presidency of Villiers, a distinguished veteran, the cabinet rank of the department, and the declaration in 1867 of its permanency (5) gradually raised its prestige. Moreover Benthamite centralisation, the essential idea in new poor law administration, having fallen into disfavour, was now brilliantly restated by J.S.Mill: "Power may be localised, but knowledge to be most useful must be centralised" (6) was a doctrine manifestly relevant to poor law administration. In 1871 the Local Government Board was formed and the poor law department (unhappily some thought) became the dominating section. Though the Conservatives kept the president out of the cabinet in 1874, 1885 and 1886, the department was now well established, was much less subject to captious criticism and tackled with ever-increasing confidence the many problems thrown up by the beginning of a social service policy.

How did the poor law authority control the unions formed under the 1834 act ? Orders were issued to fill out the meaning of the act, these being general (for all unions) or special (for particular unions.) If the unions refused to comply a difficult situation arose, especially if the central authority happened to be in public odium, for the only way to proceed was by writ of mandamus, a step taken with reluctance at all times. This cumbersome method of control hardly favoured educational reform; in the case of the Hockey Union the Poor Law Board countenanced the guardians' refusal to provide adequate school accommodation rather than face the publicity of a long battle in the courts.(7) Over-zealous guardians could be curbed by the same means but also by financial sanctions. District auditors examined the books and could discount illegal or unauthorised expenditure against the guardians, subject, however to an appeal to the central authority which was usually considerate in the case of genuine error. The Swinton school of the Manchester Union illustrates the use of this device; here the chaplain and staff took a pew at the unions expense in the parish church but had the charge disallowed by the auditor. (8)

In 1841 there were still nearly 2 million people living in areas not administered under the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. (9) Of these places the most important were those incorporated under local acts of parliament, many of them being the large and populous

parishes in urban areas. The 1834 act had not made clear the extent of the Commissioners' powers over such places but the courts decided in cases with the St. Pancras, Oxford(10), and Brighton (11) Incorporations that though the Commissioners had to accept the Local Acts they were able to compel the local guardians to comply with their directions in the carrying out of those <sup>c</sup>acts. The Local Act modified but did not displace the authority of the Commissioners. Fortified by these legal preliminaries, the Commissioners initiated an inquiry into the condition of the Local Act places; educational arrangements were satisfactory in some cases but the situation, on the whole, was deplorable. Salisbury had a schoolmistress who could not write and a schoolmaster who was a pauper through drink, his only "salary" being the permission he had to leave the workhouse more frequently than the other paupers. In St. Pancras the seven monitors in the girls' school (12) did not know 5 multiplied by 6 or what 36 pence came to. (13) Orders were issued regarding education as well as other subjects but complete regulatory powers did not come till 1868 when an amending act (31 & 32 Victoria cap. 122) brought these places into line with ordinary unions. The same act brought proper regulation to the Gilbert's Act (22 George III cap. 83) Unions. In 1834 there had been 67 of these covering 924 parishes (14) in all parts of the country. The Commissioners found them particularly troublesome for they were often placed in the midst of

groups of parishes which could most suitably be joined to ~~th~~ them to form a single Poor Law Amendment Act Union. The Poor Law Commissioners recommended their voluntary dissolution but were powerless to enforce it. Eventually the act of 1868 gave the central authorities the full powers so long wanting and in 1871, all these anomalous unions having been dissolved, Gilbert's Act was repealed.

The union was run by the board of guardians, a new element in the local administrative pattern, whose introduction in 1834 had "dethroned the country gentleman" (15) already suffering from the results of the Reform Act of 1832. Many boards contained a mixture of the old ruling class and a new monied class, capable though sometimes unlettered <sup>(1)</sup> and anxious to achieve the respectability conferred by an office which sometimes led to a magistracy. (16) The clergy too were sometimes represented. There are hints of boards dividing upon social lines, reflecting the two types of member, and the rigour of the new dispensation when compared with the old was sometimes attributed to the participation of a new class in local government. "In a board of guardians the gentlemen...are generally in a minority and can do little or nothing...A gentleman who had served the office said to me, 'I am <sup>re</sup>lly unfit to be a poor law guardian; I have some vestige of humanity left in me ! ' " (17) In other cases there was a division 1. One such guardian opposed the payment of an honorarium, to a retiring official. "What's the use of that? He wouldn't know how to play it if he had one. I'm for giving him hard cash." H.L.Beales quotes this in Political Quarterly 1948 p.321.

between ex-officio (justices of the peace, for example) and elected guardians. The latter had to face the poll and preferred to eschew expensive measures; a cramped workhouse in a built-up area might best be sold and better accommodation built elsewhere but, "that is a very unpopular measure, and guardians who vote for it do not get re-elected." (18) Later, when the new poor law had become accepted as part of the social fabric, and when, too, the middle class had become less anxious to exert its new-found power, elections became rarer. Single nominations made elections unnecessary, the same members continuing in office year after year very often (19); by the end of the century there is evidence that the office was far from being sought after, in the rural areas at any rate. (20) Fortunately as the middle class grew tired of the position of guardians, preferring, perhaps, the less odious School Board, a working class element came to take its place and to revive interest in the elections. When the Local Government Act of 1894 brought the guardians' rating qualification down to £5 per annum (21) working men began to appear on boards of guardians and gained there experience which had a part to play in the development of the Labour party.

Boards had variety of ideas as well as personnel. "Every large board will contain some that understand and adopt the principles of the new poor law; others that understand something of the old, but nothing of the new; and a third set that understands niether." (22) The first generation of guardians were, however, united in their determination to

keep the rates as low as possible, for they had lived in the days before the report of the Royal Commission. Their successors were more liberally inclined, however, and the Poor Law Board in 1859 was compelled to curb extravagance, principally in the <sup>o</sup>ver ready issue of outdoor relief but also in such ~~men~~ minor matters as <sup>✓</sup>contacting for opulent fittings in workhouse buildings, such as granite columns with terracotta enrichments and coffered ceilings to the board room.(23) Even at the end of the century a lady guardians had to complain of the over-readiness of guardians to spend union funds; in this case theyntook first class tickets for the half hour rail trip to the union schools when "most of us travel now by third class even for long distances." (24)

The gradual amelioration of "less eligibility" orkhodoxy had an important part to play in the development of pauper education. Up to the 1860s guardians, as a class, had a "deplorable apathy and indifference to education." (25) Guardians seldom opposed education openly but "it is often thwarted and impeded indirectly." (26) Even if favourable, they could see nothing beyond the value of turning out a better workman. (27) The Royal Commission on Education singled out the guardians of all except the large towns and said they were "indifferent to education, often hostile to it," (28) and when it was suggested that guardians might be used as a means of extending a national system of education an inspector was quick to point out their unsuitability for such a responsible post. (29) As early as 1864, however, Bowyer had noticed a



change in attitude (30) and in 1880 commented that," The prejudice against education which was so vigorous thirty years ago has long ceased to exist, and I do not believe that there are any men more deeply interested in the welfare of the children under their care than the mass of the poor law guardians and managers of district schools." (31)

Inspired by the ever-increasing national educational awareness, guardians, as at Maidstone (32) and Exeter (33), began to display "a remarkable degree of interest in the education and training of children." (33) It is noteworthy that the guardians were even given a part to play in the administration of the 1870 education act. Even the most conscientious of the boards of guardians, however, found it impossible to devote much time to separate consideration of the school which was part only of their responsibility, even where a school committee met separately. When this was not done the school can have received very little attention; the guardians at Tunbridge, for example, met for two hours only each fortnight and spent  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to  $1\frac{3}{4}$  hours of that time discussing the applications for outdoor relief.(34)

District schools fared somewhat better for their managers, though elected in the first place as poor law guardians, were often nominated to the school board on account of a special interest in education.

Turning now to the workhouse officials and omitting the teachers who are treated elsewhere, the chaplain must first be mentioned, the one cultured individual within the workhouse or school to whom the schoolmaster and the children

could turn. The workhouse master was, however, the most important official; in the early days he was often an uneducated man for the Poor Law Commissioners had to apologise for defective returns since "a considerable number of the present parish officers...[are] unlettered men." (35) Later, as a corps of workhouse officials was built up, standards improved and some of the workhouse masters were former pauper school teachers. (36) Yet even at the end of the century Louisa Twining was complaining of the utter unsuitability of some of those in charge of poor law institutions. Promotion was from within the service and long service was the strongest recommendation; in such circumstances it was hardly likely that a good type of officer would be obtained for the chief posts in workhouses. (37)

Such then was the hierarchy from the cabinet down to the workhouse. Experience, however, had shown that an administrative system such as this needed an inspectorate. The inspector was an alternative link between central office and each individual workhouse or school; he was at once the means of ensuring that central office orders were observed,<sup>(1)</sup> and the source from which reliable information as to local conditions might be obtained. In dealing with

1. This was not always an easy task. Henry Longley happened to be in a board room when a request was made for a pauper to be (illegally) granted enough money to set him up as a shoe black.

The Chairman: Here is a notty point.

A Guardian: The inspector is here.

Chairman: I don't care a pin for the inspector.

(Longley intervened at this point and explained that his personal view was immaterial but that the auditor would probably disallow the payment.)

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the inspection of pauper schools the general inspection made by poor law inspectors will be distinguished from the educational inspection. General inspection was carried out by assistant commissioners under the Poor Law Commissioners who became poor law inspectors when the Poor Law Board was established in 1847. In 1871, following the nomenclature of the parent body, they became local government board inspectors. Before 1847 there was no one with the specific task of inspecting the education given in the pauper schools; in that year the Committee of Council appointed five inspectors of workhouse schools. In 1863 these were transferred to the Poor Law Board and became poor law inspectors of workhouse schools. Prior to 1847, inspection of schools was part of the assistant commissioners' duties; thereafter the poor law inspector was responsible for reporting upon the structure of the school and general remarks arising out of educational policy whilst the education inspectors were responsible for the work carried on in the schools.

Under the Poor Law Commissioners each assistant commissioner was responsible for a region. From 9, their number increased to 15 in 1835 and to 21 in the following

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Chairman: I don't care a pin for the auditor either.  
 A Guardian: We should give the relief if the inspector were not here, and I hope we shall not make any difference now.

Fortunately it was discovered that the applicant was subject to fits so it was decided not to encourage him to leave the workhouse. 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 appx. 14 p.196.

year, (38) but pressure of opinion soon brought the number  
 of these well-paid officials down to 13, <sup>(39)</sup> in 1841 <sup>(1)</sup> (40)  
 with a corresponding enlargement of the districts assigned  
 to each, and eventually back to 9, (41) the original number.  
 Two of the assistant poor law commissioners showed particular  
 interest in pauper education. The career of Dr. Kay, the  
 assistant commissioner for the eastern counties, is well  
 known. (42) It was his early work in the poor law which  
 transformed him from a philanthropist conscious of the  
 influence ~~upon~~ of education upon the well-being of the  
 community, (43) into an "expert" (44) educationist.  
 Appointed in July, 1835 (45) he showed no special interest <sup>(11)</sup>  
 in education until 1837 when he drew up his first memorandum  
 on pauper education. (46) The frequency with which his  
 name has been mentioned in this study betokens his importance  
 in the early formative years of the pauper education system;  
 his abilities had not passed unnoticed, however, and in  
 1839 he became the first secretary to the Committee of  
 Council on Education. Even after 1839 <sup>(111)</sup> his influence  
 continued to shape the development of pauper schools,

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i. This included Kay who was no longer an active member  
 of the department.

ii. An 1836 report on compulsory apprenticeship (MS. in  
 MH 32/48), later printed in 1841 Reports p.77-101, was  
 similar to reports by other inspectors. (See Tufnell 3 P.L.E.  
 1837 appx. b3 p.89; Head 2 P.L.C. 1836 appx. B I4 p.370-6).

iii. His salary was paid by the Poor Law Commissioners up  
 to the end of 1842. P.P.(572) 1846 xxxvi.

particularly in connection with the payment and training of teachers.

His friend Tufnell is much less well known. Kay was a product of the Manchester Statistical Society and Edward Carleton Tufnell was a founder-member of the London Statistical Society. (47) He was born in 1806 into a noted Whig family. After Eton and Balliol he read law at Lincoln's Inn and became an assistant commissioner in the poor law inquiry commission of 1832-4. He was also one of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the conditions of labour for factory children in 1833. (48) In 1834 he became an assistant commissioner for Devon under the Poor Law Commissioners, but at the end of 1836 he was transferred to Kent. (49) His work as an assistant commissioner led him to an interest in education and, after a visit to Scottish schools with Kay, he reported personally to the Commissioners (50) and followed this up with a " plan for conducting workhouse schools". (51) When Tufnell came to look back upon his career the point which gave him "greatest pride and satisfaction" was the part he played in founding (with Dr. Kay) Battersea, the first training college in England. "We were met with the usual fate of improvers," he recalled; "we were pooh-poohed, then abused, and then imitated." (52) This joint enterprise (i) was but one of many personal sacrifices Tufnell made on

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i. which, Chadwick said, cost Tufnell three years' of his salary. Journal of the Society of Arts xxiii 1875 p.608.

behalf of education. He took one of the Committee of Council posts in 1847 as inspector of workhouse schools resigning his better-paid post under the poor law. He took charge of the metropolitan poor law schools and remained in this post till his retirement in 1874, having transferred from the Committee of Council back to the poor law in 1863 when responsibility for the inspection of pauper schools reverted to the poor law authorities. He died in 1886 after a career largely devoted to furthering the district school idea which he and Mr. Kay had pioneered.

With the passing of the Poor Law Commissioners the assistant commissinners became inspectors for the Poor Law Board and their number was increased to 13. (53) Their work was, however, curtailed for the Committee of Council now appointed a special inspectorate to work in the pauper schools. Nevertheless the poor law inspectors retained responsibility for the general arrangements within the school if not for the mechanics of teaching. Under the Local Government Board established in 1871 the regional system continued but greater use was made of ad hoc specialist inspectors. Thus Dr. F.J.Mouat carried out a special survey of the finances of metropolitan poor law schools in 1873, Mrs. Nassau Senior became a special inspector with reference to girls in 1873 after holding the post in a temporary capacity, and in 1885 Miss M.H. Mason was appointed inspector of boarded out children.

The special pauper school inspectorate appointed by the Committee of Council in 1847 was made necessary by the provision of the parliamentary grant in aid of the salaries of the teachers; the Committee of Council, the channel through which the grant flowed, attached conditions to the grant and the inspectors had to see that the conditions were observed. The first mention of an educational inspection of pauper schools had, however, come from the Bishop of London in 1841 when he suggested expanding the commission he was about to give to his nominee as inspector of elementary schools for the Committee of Council, to include pauper schools. (54) Kay, at the Committee of Council, seeing at once the possibility of a clash in the pauper schools between these inspectors of his department and the poor law assistant commissioners, pointed out that the Committee of Council inspectors, being appointed by Her Majesty in Council, should have precedence over the assistant commissioners who were merely the appointees of Her Majesty's Commissioners. (55) The matter was settled orally, however, (56) and we are left to guess the outcome from the fact that there was no regular inspection of pauper schools before 1847. Certain ad hoc inspections of outstanding pauper schools were in fact carried out by Committee of Council nominees before this date, however; Tremenheere inspected Aubin's school at Norwood in August, 1843 (57) and again with Tufnell. (58) Tremenheere also reported on Norwood, Kirkdale and Swinton in 1845 (59) with Tufnell, who wrote

a further report on the two northern schools in April 1847.  
 The inspectorate proper stemmed, however, from the 1847 (60)  
 grant. The grant was to be awarded according to the proficiency of the teacher and Kay's view that the assessment of the teacher's capabilities could not be made by the poor law officials, (61) was accepted by the Home Secretary. (62)  
 The first appointments were soon made; Tufnell (who transferred from the poor law) and Joshua Ruddock came on 4th. February, 1847, H.G.Bowyer and T.B.Browne on 28th. September, 1847 and Jelinger Cookson Symons on 11th. February, 1848. (63)  
 The Committee of Council's instructional letter of 5th. February, 1848 advised the newly-appointed inspectors as to their procedure with regard to the grant, enjoining them to insist upon the teacher having an adequate status, upon the children being usefully employed and upon the provision of books and apparatus for the school to be adequate.  
 Tufnell took charge of the metropolitan area whilst Browne went to the north though he moved to the west, where his interests lay, at the first opportunity. The chief supporter and the chief opponent of the district school idea were kept well apart until both retired in 1874. Ruddock took the south, and did much to develop agricultural work in the schools before his death in December, 1862. Bowyer (1)  
 1. Bowyer would seem to have been a trifle mean. In 1848 unions were refusing to receive his letters since, contrary to custom, he did not pre-pay his letters correspondence. (MS. 19th. Sept. 1848 MH 19/14). When transferred to the Poor Law Board he alone applied for supplies of paper and quills. (MS. 5th. December, 1863 MH 32/108.)



took the midland district which, with many minor revisions, remained his till retirement in 1880. From 1864 to 1870 he was frequently ill though he managed, between bouts, to see some of the schools his colleagues failed to reach. (64) The West and Wales were placed in the charge of Symons who was vouched for by Kay-Shuttleworth himself. (65) Symons too stressed the agricultural side and sometimes brought his wife with him on his tours of inspection to assess the quality of the needlework. (66) He died in 1860 and was not replaced, the number of districts being reduced to four.

It was, perhaps, inevitable that these education inspectors should clash with the poor law inspectors who visited the same buildings, and that their differences should lead to inter-departmental friction between the council office and Somerset House. At the first appearance of trouble in 1848 it was arranged that any recommendation by either set of inspectors affecting the province of the other should be made only at Poor Law Board-Committee of Council level. (67) Within a few weeks, however, Ruddock had to be censured for telling the Poole guardians directly to dismiss their ~~in~~ incompetent teacher (68). The same inspector was soon in trouble again for advising a teacher to refuse to cut the paupers' bread. (69) This was followed in 1849 by a bitter controversy between Symons and Doyle which led to a file being opened by the Poor Law Board entitled "Interference of School Inspectors." (70) The same inspectors had a further clash in 1850 (71) and when it appeared that

Symons had misinterpreted some unofficially collected statistics, the Committee of Council inspectors were told to confine themselves to broad statements. (72) Henceforth the Poor Law Board insisted upon seeing beforehand any reports by the school inspectors which were to be published. (73) The bad feeling thus engendered between the two departments was exacerbated when the Royal Commission on Popular Education, basing itself largely on the reports of the Committee of Council inspectors, passed an adverse report on the Poor Law Board's conduct of the pauper schools. Clearly the anomaly of one department's schools being inspected by the officials of another could not continue and a Committee of Council minute of 21st. March, 1863 passed responsibility for the school work in pauper schools back to the poor law authorities from the 31st. of the same month; (74) the existing Committee of Council inspectors for poor law schools were transferred to the Poor Law Board.

The manner of the change left much to be desired. Relations between the two departments were such that the one seemed to be as unwilling to ask, as the other was unwilling to explain, details of what the work entailed. (1) It was only the person of Tufnell who managed to bridge the chasm and bring order into the administrative confusion. As late

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1. One example of lack of cooperation between the two departments may be quoted: the Committee of Council asked the Poor Law Board to take away the accumulated records of the inspections done since 1847. Unfortunately for the historian, the Board found it "impracticable to receive them" and the papers have not survived. MS. letters 22nd. and 23rd. Dec. 1863. MH 19/17.

as July 1863 Tufnell was walking down Pall Mall when an acquaintance happened to mention that he believed the pauper school inspectors were now under the Poor Law Board. Realising that there were many problems involved (in particular there was the question of the pupil teachers in the pauper schools under the Committee of Council minutes) Tufnell made several unsuccessful attempts to see Lowe, the vice-President, but eventually button-holed him at breakfast <sup>(1)</sup> at Mr. Senior's <sup>(75)</sup>. It was the poor law office, however, which was to blame; despite numerous letters from the Committee of Council, the Poor Law Board did not formally accept responsibility until the end of July. (76) Meanwhile the difficulties which Tufnell had foreseen built up; the Committee of Council sent across to the Poor Law Board 480 reports by inspectors upon which teachers' salaries for the current year had to be paid. The Poor Law Board was overwhelmed; there was no trained staff, nor even the necessary forms upon which the certificate might be written. Complaints came from all over the country; teachers certificates were in some cases as much as 6 months late in being issued. (77) The pupil teacher question was another difficulty, each department disclaiming responsibility until Tufnell managed to get a meeting between the heads of the two departments and the Committee of Council agreed to finish the payment of the pupil teachers who had begun their

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1. This would be the Victorian late breakfast, precursor of our luncheon.

pupillage under its auspices. The teachers and pupils received their stipends a year late. (78) The whole episode showed a disgraceful lack of liason between the two department the part played by Tufnell was entirely praiseworthy but should have been unnecessary.

From 1863 onwards the school inspectors were part of the establishment of the Poor Law Board; at the change-over only three of the Committee of Council inspectors remained, however, for Ruddock had died in December, 1862. E. H. Wodehouse was appointed in Ruddock's place as a poor law inspector assigned to the inspection of schools, though his salary was at the lower rate payable to inspectors of workhouse schools. In 1871 he was reassigned to general poor law inspection and thereupon took the salary of a Local Government Board inspector. The districts were now re-drawn<sup>(1)</sup> and re-assigned, not without bickering, (79) Tufnell retaining the metropolis, Browne going to the West, Bowyer remaining in the east Midlands and Wodehouse, the newcomer, going to the north. The Board continued the salary scale established by the Committee of Council; £200 p.a. with an increment of £50 every three years until a maximum of £600 was reached.<sup>(11)</sup> £250 expenses were allowed per annum and in addition the cost of travel was separately claimed and paid quarterly. The three inspectors who came from the

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i. See table on following page.

ii. There was a special addition of £75 for ten years' service of a ove-average merit.

The Inspectors of Pauper Schools and their Districts.

1847	<u>Metropolitan</u> <u>Tufnell</u>	<u>South.</u> <u>Ruddock</u>	<u>West and Wales.</u> <u>Symons</u>	<u>North.</u> <u>Browne</u>	<u>East &amp; Midla</u> <u>Bowyer</u>
1860	Symons died and the districts were reduced to four:- <u>Metropolitan</u> <u>Tufnell</u>	<u>South and West.</u> <u>Ruddock</u>	<u>North and Wales.</u> <u>Browne</u>	<u>East and Midland.</u> <u>Bowyer</u>	
1862	Ruddock died and his district was left vacant.				
1863	Inspection taken over by Poor Law Board and districts rearranged:- <u>Metropolitan</u> <u>Tufnell</u>	<u>West</u> <u>Browne</u>	<u>North</u> <u>Wodehouse</u>	<u>East &amp; Midland.</u> <u>Bowyer</u>	
1871	Wodehouse made a L.G.B. inspector and was replaced by Mozley.				
1874	Tufnell and Browne retired and were replaced by Holgate and Clutterbuck.				
1880	Holgate	Clutterbuck	Mozley	Bowyer	
1891	Bowyer retired and was replaced by Davies. Clutterbuck retired and was not replaced. <u>Metropolis &amp; S. East</u> <u>Holgate.</u>				
		<u>North and Wales.</u> <u>Mozley</u>		<u>East, Midlands &amp; S. West.</u> <u>Davies.</u>	
1895	Holgate retired and was not replaced.				
					Thenceforth the work was divided between Mozley and Davies.

This table is based upon information in the annual reports of the inspectors, and in the Ms. correspondence in the MH series.

Committee of Council had all reached the maximum and Workhouse was started at the minimum. (80) Browne wrote to the Treasury in July, 1864 asking for an increase in salary arguing that the four inspectors now did the work done by five when Symons was alive. He pointed out also that the districts covered by the school inspectors were greater than those covered by the poor law inspectors yet the latter received an expenses allowance £50 greater. (81) In 1867 when the poor law inspectors were stabilised at £900 p.a. plus travelling expenses, but with no allowances, Browne asked that the school inspectors should receive the same emoluments (thus gaining £50 p.a.) but his arguments were again unsuccessful. (82)

The reports of the inspectors of workhouse schools had been published annually by the Committee of Council from 1847 until the transfer of the inspectorate to the Poor Law Board in 1863. These published reports had been a thorn in the flesh of the poor law authorities as their use by the Royal Commission had shown for they publicised criticisms of one department by the officials of another. It may well be, therefore, that the Poor Law Board preferred to muzzle these same inspectors until they had been fully indoctrinated with the poor law way of thinking; be that as it may, publication ceased when the inspectors transferred

(1)

to the Poor Law Board. In 1867, however, Browne wrote to 1. Reports were still required, and there is a pencilled note on the MS of T.B. Browne's first report to the Board: "Mr. Tufnell to be asked as to printing the reports with the annual reports of the Board." MS. report Jan. 1864 MH 32/108. See also minute by Villiers (21st. Dec. 1863) on MS Browne to Board 14th. Dec. 1863. MH 32/108.

the Board quoting remarks in The Pall Mall Gazette (3rd. Dec. 1867) suggesting that the term "workhouse school" was synonymous with "everything that is most objectionable", and asking that the inspectors' reports should again be published in order to enlighten the public. (83) The Board agreed but asked the inspectors not to discuss "questions of a controversial or speculative character".(84) Clearly public wrangling between officials would no longer provide critics of the poor law with ammunition. From the annual report for 1867-8 onwards, with mena minor exceptions, the reports of the school inspectors appeared in the yearly volume issued by the poor law authorities. It was soon made clear that the inspectors were not to have a free hand in what they published. At the request of the office, Browne amended the draft for his 1869areport, eliminating what was regarded as a controversial and defiant tone. (85) In the following year his report criticised both the district school and the boarding out scheme lately introduced as a result of a favourable report by Mr. Henley, one of the poor law inspectors. "This is not a report on the progress of the schools in Mr. Browne's district," one minute noted, "but a general essay on the policy of district schools and of the boarding out system. It is a criticism of Mr. Henley's report and the steps taken by the Board. " Stansfeld, the President, a firm supporter of boarding out, ordered that the report be modified, (86) and Browne had to recast the

(1)  
whole.

In 1871 the Poor Law Board was transformed into the Local Government Board; at the time of the change Wodehouse was transferred to the work of a general inspector and his place as a school inspector was taken by J.R.Mozley.<sup>(11)</sup> Soon afterwards, in 1874, Tufnell and Browne retired and were replaced by Wyndham Holgate in the metropolis and the Rev. Dr. Clutterbuck in the west. Bowyer, the last of the inspectors who came from the Committee of Council in 1863, did not retire till 1880 when he was replaced by Byam Davies. From the 1870s on, however, with the development of boarding out and the increased use of certified schools, few of which were inspected, and of day schools, the amount of school inspectors' work decreased. When Clutterbuck retired in 1891 he was not replaced, the country being redivided into three districts. When Holgate retired in 1895 a similar course was followed and Mozley and Davies were left to divide the work between them. This apparent slackness was partly due to the hope that the inspection of schools would soon be returned to the education department; this had been recommended by the Royal Commission on Reformatory and Industrial Schools in 1882, by the Cross Commission in 1888, and by the Metropolitan Schools Departmental Committee in 1896. The education department insisted, however, that if 1. Apart from extensive alterations, an entirely new introduction was inserted. The original manuscript began with what became the third paragraph on p.232 of 23 P.L.B. 1870-I. (MS. Browne Jan. 1871 MH 32/108.) 11. A Mr. Pope carried out inspections between the appointments. MS. L.G.B. to C.C.E. 15th. Jan. 1872 MH 19/19.



they were to receive the schools they would do so upon their own terms, having complete control of all the children including those boarded out; this the Local Government Board was unwilling to concede and the impasse continued, whilst two inspectors attempted to cover the whole country. (87) Finally the inevitable came and the schools passed back to the inspection of the education department in the early years of the next century.

It remains to add a few notes upon the methods of inspection employed. The annual visit of the inspector was the focus of the year. Though inspectors could make surprise calls, their visit for the purpose of granting the teacher a certificate was always preceded by a formal notification. (88) An ex-pupil's letter to his teacher reveals something of the tension surrounding this heralded visit: "I am glad to hear," he wrote, "that the inspector has been, as I have no doubt it is a great weight off your mind..." (89) The inspector's primary duty was to give the rating of the teacher upon the efficiency scale, thus determining the amount his employers could draw from the parliamentary grant. The teacher himself sat an examination and in Bowyer's district in the 1860s had to answer questions such as these:-

Religious Knowledge: What doctrine is proved in 10th.

Chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews ?

Arithmetic:	Add:-	£40,809	-18	11 $\frac{2}{3}$
		£ 8,967	-14	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
		etc.	etc.	this being a seven rank sum.

Grammar: Give whatever rules of orthography which exist in the English language with their exceptions.

History: What is the meaning of the word "anarchy" and in what reigns was England in that state ?

Geography: Name the principal countries of Europe, giving their climates, productions, capitals and principal rivers and cities. (90)

If Bowyer used the bludgeon, Tufnell preferred the rapier, for he would ask his victims to find the cost of  $\frac{3}{4}$  of  $54\frac{1}{2}$  yards of silk if  $2\frac{1}{4}$  yards cost  $\frac{31}{40}$  £40. (91) The children were examined merely as a means of guaging the capabilities of the teacher. Ruddock asked the children to write down the commandments and quoted the following as proof of a teacher's incompetency:-

"Thoue shalt comited doldre

Thoue shalt not have flasswiness agenst thy naber." (92)

A change came when the children were brought under the education code by an 1878 order; the teacher had still to be graded for salary purposes but now the children had to be passed according to the standards of the code. This additional duty caused a reorientation of the inspectorate. Henceforth the children, not the teacher, became the centre of the annual inspection. They were examined in the various subjects of the code in the same manner as those in the elemenary schools. "Catch" questions and the wild answers they evoked from the unfortunate children became a feature of the examinations. Bowyer, for example, thought that there was no obscurity in the following sentence:

" 'and the remnant took his servants and entreated them

spitefully.' " The usual error on the part of the children was to regard the "remnant" as " the designation of some important personage, whom they called "the master" or 'the king'." (93) The childish inference that harsh treatment is to be expected from those in authority is noteworthy; the example of what the inspector believed to be childish ignorance is a salutary reminder of the difficulty of evaluating the relative standards of the early inspectors. Another of Bowyer's favourites was the word "communicative" which one child interpreted as " a person who goes to church". (94) Mozley trapped his examinees by asking them what was a piece of water surrounded entirely by land, and Bowyer was given the genealogical foundation of Edward III's claim to the throne of France by children who were so ignorant (in his view) as to believe that taxes are imposed by the sole authority of the crown. (95)

The hierarchy of central authorities, guardians and workhouse officials was the means of deciding and implementing poor law policy. The inspectorate, both poor law and educational, saw that the system was functioning correctly. The weapon of financial sanction, so strong in the hands of the inspector of elementary schools, had little effect on the pauper schools, however much it might press on the minds of individual teachers. Whatever happened the school remained a public charge and even if the teacher was dismissed there remained the problem of finding a better one. Other circumstances helped to make the education

inspectorate insignificant; inter-departmental strife rendered it impotent long before it was muzzled by absorption into the poor law. The editing of the reports and the inferiority of their salaries revealed the status of the education inspectors as compared with the poor law inspectors. (1) Above all the school inspectors were -with the exception of Tufnell- far from outstanding as individuals. It is not, surprising, therefore that the inspectorate founded by Kay-Shuttleworth in 1847 as a lever to raise the pauper schools to a new level lost its strength. Inspection became the formality of signing the teacher's certificate and trying out the children presented. With vacancies left unfilled and two inspectors trying to cover the whole country, the inspections can have been nothing more than perfunctory, even allowing for the increased speed of travel and the fall in attendance at pauper schools. Mozley and Davies in 1896 were but the withered remnant of the virile body established half a century before.

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1. Boarding out was approved after an investigation by Henley one of the general inspectors of the poor law, the inspectors of schools not being consulted. Perhaps it was considered that they would not be unprejudiced since the matter had reference to their own future prospects; boarded out children usually attended the public elementary schools and the development of boarding out would lead to the emptying of pauper schools.

Chapter 12. From School to Life.

"There is not the slightest difficulty in getting rid of pauper children if they are properly educated."

MS. E.C.Tufnell to Poor Law Commissioners. 10th. May,  
1845. MH 32/71.

For most pauper children there came the day when the school had to be left behind and the battle for subsistence begun. Apprenticeship, the older way of disposing of children, was gradually replaced by simple hiring out without indentures. This chapter will describe apprenticeship, hiring out and, after dealing with the type of work found for the children, will examine the measures taken for their "after care", yet another field in which the Victorians found scope for their never-failing philanthropy.

The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 (4 & 5 William IV cap. 76) marks a cleavage in most departments of the poor law. Apprenticeship, however, was not reformed till 1844 by 7 & 8 Victoria cap. 101. The first ten years of the new poor law were spent in curbing some of the worst abuses of the old poor law and in marking out the new type of pauper apprenticeship which was to replace the old system. The "statute of Elizabeth" (39 Elizabeth I cap.3) to which reference was so often made, ordered the setting to work of all pauper children as soon as they were able to earn a living. The parish overseer saw to the drawing up of

(1)  
 the indentures and bound the pauper apprentice to the master. By the late eighteenth century, however, the arrangement had come to be less formal in many places; an entry in the vestry minute books sometimes sufficed as an indenture, for example, (1) and a broad interpretation had come to be placed upon the word "trade". Such callings as "husbandry" and "housewifery" were accepted as genuine trades to which a child might be apprenticed, and at Gnosall in Staffordshire only ten out of 240 children apprenticed between 1817 and 1835 were indentured to genuine tradesmen. (2) These tendencies are pointers to the decline of apprenticeship as the changing economy of town and country altered established patterns. In rural areas the overseer's task was far from easy; often the parishioners had to be persuaded against their will to take an apprentice. A £5 "premium" was a common inducement and it will be recalled that "Five pounds and Oliver Twist were offered to any man or woman who wanted an apprentice to any trade, business or calling." (3) Sometimes coercion had to reinforce the bribe; at Stowe a ballot decided which rate-payer would be compelled to take an apprentice, whilst at Forehoe they were taken in rotation; at Bosmere and Claydon hundreds the children were placed according to the rating assessment, some wealthy occupiers

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1. An interesting reform, foreshadowing that of 1844, was introduced by some of the local act incorporations which reserved to the board all rights in apprenticing. B. & S. Webb Statutory Authorities p.131 referring to the Blything act 4 George III cap.56 (1793).

being expected to take several children off the poor books whilst others took one only; at Wangford the premium (and also the penalty for those who refused to take an apprentice) varied according to the assessment. (4) In the circumstances it was difficult for the independent labourer to compete with the parish when it came to apprenticing his own children and some independent workers deliberately pauperised themselves to gain the benefits of parish apprenticeship for their children. (5) The whole scheme successfully removed children - temporarily at any rate - from the parish poor book but achieved little else; some masters regarded it as a disguised tax, "saddling an individual with the burthen of an useless and unprofitable servant", (6) whilst the apprentices themselves must often have suffered at the hands of such disgruntled employers.

The situation was rather different in towns; London guardians were unwilling to bribe masters and some parishes had disposed of their children en bloc to the owners of cotton factories. (7) News of premiums attracted much attention from impoverished city tradesfolk; one supposedly "deranged" lady spread a rumour that one of the city companies was to give a premium of £20 for the apprenticeship of her pauper son, and the school authorities were plying with over 100 applications from would be masters. (8) Some Londoners went as far as Ipswich in search of well backed apprentices. (9) For the poor and unemployed tradesman it was nothing more than an expedient to meet a temporary difficulty; "one source of the

maintenance of the Spitalfield weavers is the premiums they acquire with apprentices from other parishes." (10) Rural guardians were only too ready to supply the want for, once a sufficient premium was raised and a master from outside the union had been found, the child was apprenticed and his name removed from the poor book for ever for he now took on the settlement of his master. Clearly a £5 premium was a worthwhile investment if it gave the parish misfit a new settlement. A considerable proportion of the expenditure of some rural unions and incorporations came under the heading, "pre<sup>m</sup>iums"; in the year ending Lady Day 1836, for example, the hundred of Samford in Suffolk spent over £400 of a total poor law relief bill of less than £3700 on apprenticing pauper children out of the hundred. (11) Astute administration could reduce this figure, however, and some boards, after deliberately offering a pauper apprentice to several unwilling residents in turn, used the accumulated fines for refusal as a premium. (12)

What was the effect of this traffic upon what might be called the "reception areas" ? Often they would already be places of depression, for the slackness of trade would have forced the masters to make ends meet by taking an unwanted apprentice for the sake of the premium. If the master failed or dismissed his apprentice, the latter went to the poorhouse to inflate still further the poor rate already pressing upon the needy tradesman. It was said that the abnormally high



poor rate at Hinckley, Leicestershire could be traced to unwanted apprentices recruited from outside the union becoming destitute in the town. (13) The most notorious example was provided by the Bethnal Green and Spitalfield area where the handloom weavers sought in vain to withstand the threat of economic extinction by taking unwanted apprentices for the sake of their premiums. The Bethnal Green relieving officer put it bluntly: "The masters take apprentices for the premiums, and get rid of [them] as soon as they can." (14) In such circumstances it can hardly be expected that the poorer apprentices would fare well with masters who were interested in the temporary help of a lump sum rather than in the training of a young person to a trade. Even if the apprentice did work out his time it was probable that the master would dismiss him as soon as he was qualified and replace him with another apprentice. (15) Yet many masters could not wait even this long once they had received the premium; a child would be provoked to abscond (16), "They find some cause of complaint...and got the indentures cancelled, or they quarrelled with and abused the children so that they ran away." (17) And who were these masters? "Those who took these apprentices were almost always needy people," (18) "milliners, straw-bonnet makers, shoemakers and petty tradesmen." (19) Dickens' evocation of London life in Sketches by Boz ("The streets: Morning.") comes to mind: "Milliners and stay-makers apprentices... -poor girls!- the hardest worked, the worst paid, and too often the worst

used class of the community."

The Poor Law Commissioners were slow to tackle the problem set by these varying practices. In 1838 the City of London Union tried to force the Commissioners to state a policy on apprenticeship but the reply avoided the direct question and guaranteed advice only on particular cases. The Commissioners found the whole question "Encompassed with so many difficulties that they have abstained from issuing any general order on the subject. They are disposed to hope that other modes of providing for the children may be devised..." (20) Yet evidence there was in plenty of the evils waiting to be eradicated and one at least of the assistant commissioners -Dr. Kay- had reached firm conclusions on the subject. He became familiar with the Spitalfields-Bethnal Green problem when Nassau Senior called him into consultation on the education section <sup>(1)</sup> of the Handloom Weavers report.(21) He had already prepared a report on compulsory apprenticeship in the eastern counties, (22) and when he came to the metropolis his report dated December 1st, 1840 (23) was partly devoted to apprenticeship. It is not surprising, therefore, that when he helped (24) to draft the bill which became the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1844 (7 & 8 Victoria cap. 101) he persuaded the authorities to include a section designed to eradicate the worst abuses

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1. It is worthy of note that the report recommended free education.

of the apprenticeship system. The act abolished compulsory apprenticeship and guardians were made directly responsible for the apprenticing of children, subject to whatever general regulations the Poor Law Commissioners might issue, and it was ordered that a register of pauper apprentices be kept. Furthermore the act gave powers of control over masters as well as apprentices, a provision which had been far from clear in the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. The Commissioners' regulations eventually appeared in a general order (25) forbidding all premiums <sup>(1)</sup> other than clothing *for children over 4 years of age,* except in the case of deformed children. Premiums that were paid had to be partly withheld till the end of the first year. Apprentices had to be over nine and literate, masters over 21 and rated for the poor. Binding at distances greater than thirty miles was forbidden and the relieving officer had to certify that a master's premises were suitable for the maintenance of an apprentice. A further step was taken by the Poor Law (Apprentices) Act of 1851 (14 & 15 Victoria cap. 11) which, resulting from a shocking case of cruelty to pauper apprentices, (26) called upon guardians to have pauper apprentices and hired servants inspected regularly after they were sent out. Powers of prosecution were conferred and a register of all children leaving the poor law establishment had to be kept.

By statute and order, the outlines of an efficient and humane apprenticeship system were being drawn up. Yet it would be wrong to surmise that the Commissioners were 1. This ruling was a "hard saying" and by an order of  
Contd. on next page.

anxious to develop this means of passing the children into life. The letter to the City Of London Union already<sup>1</sup> quoted betrays a hint of the view eventually taken. A circular letter to the assistant commissioners dated 3rd. February, 1840 spoke of estimating the improvement in the education of the children "by the diminution of the frequency or total discontinuance of the apprenticeship of pauper children." (27) "Pauper children should never be apprenticed," (28) wrote Tufnell, and again, commenting on the apprenticeship order, "there is not the slightest difficulty in getting rid of pauper children if they are properly educated." (29) The Commissioners' circular letter accompanying the general order (30) on apprenticeship agreed that certain sections of the order, by their stringency, would appear to discourage apprenticeship; this, the Commissioners said, was intentional. A device for the disposal of pauper children had been perfected, therefore, despite the hope that its use would diminish. This hope was largely fulfilled for, though pauper apprenticeship never entirely disappeared (31) it had, by the end of the century, become unimportant. A witness told a Select Committee of the Lords in 1888(32) that apprenticeships were now few, though boys were still being taken for the sake of the premium which was then as much as £10. The old idea of a resident apprenticeship had passed; the tradesman no longer lived over his shop, but let the upper floor and

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15th. Aug. 1845, premiums were again permitted. <sup>for those over 14</sup> 12 P.L.C.  
1846 appx. A 3. p.15 and p. 40.

and lived out at Streatham if he were a Londoner. A new kind of binding was needed where the boy lived at home or in a Home for Working Boys, but this did not meet with Local Government Board approval. Where apprenticeship happened to fit local economic requirements it continued to flourish; at Sheffield apprentices from the workhouse were still being bound at the end of the century and it is to the credit of the Sheffield masters that premiums were neither offered nor expected. (33) One cutler even went so far as to have his apprentice taught the piano ! (34) An understanding -though irregular- arrangement introduced by the Sheffield guardians was to allow the boy to go to a master on trial for a month before indentures were drawn; these bore the names of the boy (or his father) and the master only, all reference to the guardians being omitted, (35) thus concealing the boy's pauper antecedents.

Apprenticing pauper boys to the sea was controlled by separate statutes, and the problem was tackled first by 7 & 8 Victoria cap. 112. An act of the following session (8 & 9 Victoria cap. 116) set up licensed agents at the sea ports through whom guardians placed boys. Later shipping agents masters took over these duties under 14 & 15 Victoria cap. 96. (36) The Merchant Shipping Act of 1854<sup>(1)</sup> consolidated the law, as far as apprenticing to the merchant service was concerned; the indentures of any pauper apprenticed to the sea had to be witnessed by two justices, the

1. 17 & 18 Victoria cap. 104 to be read in conjunction with cap. 120 of the same session.

minimum age for such apprenticing being twelve years.

Hardships there were but these were inseparable from the seafaring life reported an inspector investigating alleged cruelty to apprentices in the Grimsby fishing trade, and the sea still provided a good opening for suitable strong boys.<sup>(37)</sup>

As apprenticeship fell into desuetude it was replaced by hiring out at a weekly wage. Hiring out had none of the security of a formal apprenticeship (38) but it was more in keeping with the changing industrial conditions. Factory owners seeking labour at the lowest cost naturally used the workhouse as a potential recruiting ground.<sup>(1)</sup> They tended to avoid labour towards which statutory obligations existed, however, (39) and the regulations concerning pauper apprenticeship drove them to seek only hired hands from the workhouse. Nevertheless their persistent and acute requests for cheap hired labour were sometimes favourably received by guardians, who, besides being partly drawn from the same class as the factory owners, were attracted by the saving on the rates. At Bradford the children worked in the local factories whilst remaining chargeable to the union (40); Romsey let boys out at 2/- per week and claimed that this helped them to find a master (41). One master wished to take children out of the workhouse daily (42) whilst a Wakefield owner wanted to take them out of the workhouse on

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1. It is noteworthy that it was the pauper apprentices for whom the allimportant, though unobserved, first factory act (42 George III cap. 73, 1802) was passed.

Monday, board lodge and work them till Saturday and then return them to the guardians till Monday. (43) All these practices or proposals were forbidden by the central authorities since they all undercut the labour<sup>r</sup> market and were therefore likely to increase rather than reduce the poor rate.

Hiring out beyond the union bounds had none of the advantages (for the guardians) of apprenticing beyond the union for section 64 of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 took away the acquisition of settlement by means of simple hiring. Public-minded manufacturers sometimes bore this in mind as, for example, one who, though willing to hire the pauper children on a three year contract, refused to have them apprenticed and thereby be the means of giving them a settlement in the town (<sup>4</sup>44). Guardians gradually extended their after-care services for hired out children conscious, perhaps, that eventual failure meant the return of the child to the poor house. The act of 1851 (14 & 15 Victoria cap. II) which dealt with apprentices also included provisions for the registration and visitation of young workers hired out. Security was still<sup>1</sup> lacking in the case of the hired worker, and there was the problem for the orphan boy of where to go between jobs, or even where to live whilst working, a want filled eventually by philanthropy.

The increased sense of public responsibility evinced by the guardians showed its<sup>1</sup> self in the care bestowed on the selection of suitable posts for pauper children. An

enlightened board such as that at Bristol had lists of would-be employers whose offers had been refused because of unsatisfactory conditions. (45) The South Metropolitan District School had a most thorough procedure; a mistress requiring a servant came to the school, chose a girl and reached an agreement over wages <sup>(1)</sup>. An official then inspected the accommodation set aside for the girl and, if the arrangements were suitable, informed the girl's union. The girl then received her outfit and went direct to her post. (46) The outfit was a generous <sup>(11)</sup> allowance of clothing designed to give the child a wardrobe sufficient for all immediate needs. Unfortunately, sturdy and hard-wearing as the garments were, the children were only too conscious that their outfits were advertisements of their pauper background. The girls seemed to suffer most in this respect for the hats supplied were <sup>(iii)</sup> unmistakably "workhouse bonnets". Some kind mistresses immediately provided their girls with a new bonnet, (47) but girls were sometimes driven to cutting the hat to pieces to force their mistresses into buying a replacement. (48) At least one mistress did not take kindly to such vandalism;

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i. In the Malton Union in the 1890s a child was not allowed to be hired at less than three pounds per annum. 21 L.G.B. 1891-2 p.179.

ii. The Forest Gate school was authorised to spend up to £3-10-0 per head on this outfit. Order of L.G.B. 5th. Aug. 1889. MH 27/143.

iii. So Mrs Nassau Senior; it must be remembered, however, that a mistress would also have an interest in concealing the origins of a pauper servant i.e. an inferior class of servant and the cheapest on the market.



"Whatever it was," she declared, "it should be worn in a spirit of thankfulness to the ratepayers who provided it." (49) But when the girls did get a chance to replace their outfit bonnets they went to the other extreme; "Mary Ann was a very good girl," her employer stated, "but she would wear a white satin bonnet with a yellow flower in it though she told the child that it was not respectable to go out on Sunday bedizened like that." (50) One likes to think of that white satin bonnet with its gay splash of yellow, bobbing along the suburban streets on a Sunday afternoon, a symbol of youth's ever-present exuberance, a jaunty protest against the drabness of the years gone by and the drudgery of the years to come.

There were unions, of course, which did not carry out their duties with such care. As late as 1876 in some northern manufacturing districts labour was so short that children as young as seven were being sent out "to what is called domestic service," and in the same area only the better unions did any systematic visiting to see what kind of treatment the children were receiving. (51) In the country districts children were often placed on the land where wages were low and work lasted for only six to nine months of the year. Louisa Twining believed that the unemployed who drifted into London were recruited from such rural sources. (52) Pauper children were particularly vulnerable when placed in such situations for they were often friendless, they depended on having board and lodging provided with their work and

discrimination against the "pauper brat" meant that they were the first to be dismissed.

To enlarge the prospects of pauper boys at least, the inspectorate developed training for the army, navy and merchant service in the schools, a step which appealed to those who saw justice in making paupers, whose maintenance and education had been a public charge, responsible for the defence of the state. The service life offered an ideal outlet for pauper boys; board and lodging were provided, there was security, and the child was moved away from interfering relatives. The semi-military discipline and the training in community life provided by a large pauper school were, of course, admirable preparations for a naval or military career. Unfortunately pauper boys tended to be stunted in stature and under-developed around the chest, but in the mid-fifties the inspectors discovered that physical deficiencies could be overlooked in the case of well-trained band boys.<sup>(1)</sup> Tufnell in particular became an advocate of band training and annually supplied the war office with lists of boys ready for service as bandsmen, who were rapidly snapped up by eager bandmasters. (53) In 1872 as many as 300 boys went from the metropolitan district into army bands (54) and soon ex-pauper boys were rising to the head of the profession. By 1880 two of them had already become regimental bandmasters. (55)

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1. Some mothers, realising that band training led to a service career, refused to agree to their boys being so trained, (MS.Minutes Kensington Guardians 6th. May, 1875) but the guardians countered by asking such non-resident mothers to take their children away from the school. (20th. May

Though hand boys entered naval bands there was also a movement of non-musical boys into the navy as ordinary seamen. Physical standards (4'8" at 18 (56) ) were high for boys of pauper stock and the revised regulations of 1876 (57) made conditions even more difficult, (58) Naturally the main avenue to a naval career was through the training ship "Goliath" and its successor "Exmouth." Boys who could not get into the Royal Navy found scope for their sea training in the merchant navy or fishing fleets and some were able to transfer to the Royal Navy at a later date. The boys admitted to "Exmouth" between March 1876 and December 1881, for example, were disposed of thus:-

561	Still on board when census was taken.	
516	Had joined the merchant navy.	
173	Had joined Royal Navy. (1)	
104	Had joined bands, military or naval.	
239	Had been returned to their unions.	(59)

Training for the sea was not confined to the training ships.

Aubin's school at Norwood which later became the Central London District School had a mast in the playground and the Stepney Union developed the idea; materials were obtained from the Admiralty and so thorough was the training that masters of ships were eager to take on Stepney-trained boys; where formerly a £10 premium was required, 183 boys were sent out in five years without a single premium.(60) The reader will recall the description Dickens wrote (61) of

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1. "Although [Exmouth boys]...are the pick of London work-house boys, few come up to the standard in breadth of chest necessary to pass them into the Royal Navy." Local Government Chronicle June 28th. 1879. p.517.

life aboard the dry-land ship at Stepney. The army, navy and merchant marine offered perhaps the best of all opportunities to pauper boys: "If I had my will," wrote Tufnell, "I would bring up every pauper boy either to be a musician for the army or navy bands or to be a sailor for the Royal Navy or merchant service." (62)

Most pauper children, however, had to be eased into the ordinary working population as the services could take a few only of the best boys each year. Some trades were traditionally practised in pauper schools largely because they helped the domestic economy, but unfortunately these were trades that did not offer a secure future. Tailoring and shoemaking were practised assiduously in workhouse workshops; at Preston a single shoemaker with three or four adult inmates and fourteen boys made and repaired the shoes for 660 paupers, whilst the tailor with eighteen boys and two adults made and mended all their clothing. (63) The work produced was, in most cases, durable though rough and from the boys' point of view was a very poor training not only because of the coarseness of the work but also because they were not allowed to practise the more skilled techniques such as cutting out. In fact good tradesmen preferred to have boys who had not been partially trained in workhouses. (64) In Tufnell's experience such semi-trained boys could attract only the lowest wages and were soon applying for relief (65), for both the shoemaking and tailoring trades were very much overstocked with labour. (66) Furthermore the conditions

under which tailors and shoemakers worked -close atmosphere and cramped position- were not suitable for the often delicate ex-pauper boys, (67) and towards the end of the century the chief inspector of the Local Government Board declared that only boys physically handicapped from entering other trades should be put into tailoring and shoemaking.(68) A large school could offer training in other trades carried on as part of the day to day w<sup>o</sup>rk of the school. Some boys helped the baker, for example, despite the risk of the flour stimulating cutaneous complaints and the heat bringing on tuberculosis. (69) Some schools had engineers who tended the boilers and serviced the well pumps and here too their boy assistants were able to acquire a useful smattering of trade ~~ill~~ lore. At the North Surrey school the carpentry was particularly well developed and Marsland the superintendent told Chadwick that his carpenter boys turned down the opportunity of army careers, for their training in wood was so good that they could get 30/- per week by the age of 20 in civilian life. (70)

We must not forget the fine opportunity offered to academically outstanding children by a teaching career. Here the way had been shown by William Rush, a member of the first course at Battersea, who began as an orphan boy in a Norfolk workhouse and ended his days (prematurely) as the master of a National school in Kent. Year by year selected children became pupil teachers and some eventually went to

training colleges as Queen's scholars and thence entered the field of general education or returned to pauper education as teachers. This, however, was a career open only to the few who were able to shine at the "utilitarian factuality" (71) of <sup>the</sup> nineteenth century pedagogue nicknamed "Kayshuttleworry" (72) by Dickens and ridiculed by him in the character of Mr. M'Choakumchild in Hard Times who is drawn directly, so it is said, from the questions set by the Committee of Council for the examination of teachers.

In the 80s a return began to appear regularly giving statistics for the metropolis only of the jobs to which pauper children were sent. In 1882-3, foreexample, out of 746 boys:-

155	went to Royal Navy
151	went to army bands
109	went to the merchant marine
62	went to Homes of various kinds
54	became shoemakers
34	entered domestic service
18	became tailors
12	took up hairdressing.

For no other trade or occupation did the total number of entrants reach double figures. (73) Some years later the situation was a little different. In 1895-6 out of 773 boys placed out from the metropolis:-

366	entered the army, Royal or merchant navy
173	went to Working Boys Homes.
41	became bakers
38	took up shoe making
32	entered domestic service
27	were tailors
16	errand boys
13	hairdressers

and the remainder took up various miscellaneous callings. (74)

Local industries naturally modified the pattern. The Rev. Dr. Clutterbuck, reporting from the west in the early 80s, mentioned farming as taking approximately 200 of the 700 children of both sexes sent out in a year. (75) Where mining was carried out the guardians were presented with a difficult problem. The need for getting rid of the boys as soon as possible had to be weighed against the responsibility of being "in loco parentis" and the demands of "less eligibility" had to be placed against the possibility of a local scandal; "consequently some boards sent nearly all boys to collieries, others steadfastly refused to do so." (76)

Once domestic service has been mentioned, almost all the girls have been accounted for. Of the 5,150 girls placed out in the metropolis in the eleven years beginning in 1885, all but 89 entered domestic service. (77) As Tufnell put it "there is no difficulty in settling the purpose for which girls ought to be trained. They should be made household servants." (78) There was a never-ceasing demand for servants which the pauper schools supplied as soon as the girls were ready, so that inspectors found the higher classes in the schools denuded of girls. (79) In the metropolis it was usual for girls to be taken out of the school altogether at 14 and to be kept at work for ten hours daily under the industrial mistress; their intellectual requirements were satisfied by one hour's instruction in the evening. "With this training," Tufnell explained, "they become excellent servants in six months." (80) Pauper girls could

not expect to obtain the better type of domestic post. Usually they would be "single-handed" i.e. the only servant and responsible for answering the door, doing the washing, carrying up (and down) the water, helping with the cooking and minding the children. Those seeking servants from the workhouse were "for the most part persons in a humble situation of life," wrote an inspector in 1858, "where the work to be done would naturally be of a disagreeable and distasteful character; in fact... when persons apply at the workhouse for servants they do so on the express ground that they find it impossible to retain in their service servants in a more independent position. The workhouse, therefore, is the last resource to which they apply." (81) Increased care by the guardians responsible for placing children out and the more stringent legislative requirements made an undoubted improvement, though pauper girls still had to be content with the meanest of domestic posts. In 1873 Mrs. Nassau Senior wrote:- "The low rate of wages given to these girls and the excellent outfit with which they are provided, makes them sought after by many people who, a few years ago, would have done their own housework, whose income does not permit them to keep a superior servant, and who often look on their little servant as a mere drudge." (82) At the end of the century it was still general for pauper girls to go to single-handed places though one of the largest schools, The North Surrey, made it a rule never to send a child to such a post. (83) Miss Poole of the Metropolitan



association for Befriending Young Servants came to believe, however, that there was some merit in pauper girls starting off in such a situation; "I think they often do better in single-handed places for a start, and rise to better places as they grow older and get more knowledge." (84) Tufnell was inclined to agree, for where there were other servants they looked down upon the pauper as a "workus" girl. (85) Domestic service provided an ideal outlet for pauper girls since a home was provided. Difficulties arose, however, once she left her first post. If she had not another place to go to at once she was left homeless and, ~~if~~ if over 16, there was only the workhouse to shelter her, though sometimes her old school might -illegally- take her in. (86) Clearly there was need for a resting place <sup>between</sup> jobs and this was eventually satisfactorily provided by voluntary effort. Once a pauper girl left her first post she passed from the supervision of the poor law authorities (many girls gave this as a good reason for changing posts at the first opportunity). It would be unwise to assume that all the hundreds of girls yearly entering domestic service from the poor law school stayed in service, for life without a pinafore and cap had its attractions, especially if relatives were near to provide shelter. Girls left the posts guardians found for them to work in mills at four to five shillings per week for the sake of what was called "liberty and idleness". (87) Every evening was the mill-worker's own (a luxury rare in domestic service) and a girl could make friends with

whomsoever she pleased. The lonely quiet of the basement kitchen and attic bedroom was exchanged for the rough comradeship of the noisy factory floor, the tyranny of the parlour bell for that of the factory whistle. Thus, though few boards of guardians would send girls to factories, and "nine out of ten girls would prefer to go", (88) some girls had their way in the end.

There remained those, both girls and boys, who, because of weakness in body or mind, were unemployable. The idiotic, the scrofulous, the crippled the blind and those subject to fits were all to be found amongst the pauper army. By regulation these should, at the age of 16, have passed over to the adult wards of the workhouse, (89) but this was sometimes put off for as long as possible and handicapped children of 18 could be found doing what they could in the way of domestic service in the schools -often the only homes they knew. (90) Slowly, however, specialised institutions for the care of such physical and mental defectives developed as the poor law sick wards were slowly being transformed into an embryonic health service; by the end of the century, the worst cases would all have left the pauper school long before the age of 16 and gone to the homes provided for them. Refractory children were sent, by magistrates' order, to industrial schools, but pauper schools were loathe to follow this course since it could be regarded as reflecting upon their discipline. (91)

How did pauper children fare in their jobs? Here was a question repeatedly asked (and repeatedly answered, though never with unanimity) by ratepayers anxious to know how well or badly the poor rate had been expended. Two parliamentary returns in 1861 (92) attempted to shed light upon the subject but failed since the criteria of success was the non-return of a pauper child to the poor law institution in later life. An inspector pointed out that boys would have to be in extremities to return to the poor house; even if they took to crime they could do better than by returning. (93) A pamphlet by Mrs. Way (94) then showed that many poor law trained girls turned up in voluntary societies' homes. "S.M." for example, was aged 15 when brought homeless and destitute to the office of the Society for the Rescue of Females; after five years' education in Lambeth workhouse and the Norwood school she had been sent out as a maid-of-all-work in Peckham but left her post on account of her master's drunken habits. She had had two other places but lost the last due to oversleeping; she had not, like "M.T.", another 15 yearold, from the St. Pancras school, "fallen". "A.M'G." a Norwood girl aged 16, having lost her place through impertinence, and "having no home...took to a sinful life for subsistence". "M.C." a 16 year old from Sutton had several posts after leaving the small inn where the guardians placed her and finally worked in a brothel. "E.H." , a St. Pancras orphan, was only ten when the guardians placed her out in service and was "forcibly ruined" at the age of 11 whilst going on

an errand "on a Sunday". Opponents of the pauper schools were quick to claim that such failures were the result of faulty education; the inspectors of workhouse schools preferred to blame the bad environment into which the children were placed. (95) Clearly a child who left her first position and sought another as a servant can have had little chance of bettering herself whilst she remained a servant unless she received help from those who occupied a higher station in life. Here the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants was to fill a need made even more pressing by the refusal of some voluntary societies to have anything to do with pauper girls. "Whenever a workhouse case is brought before us," wrote the secretary of one such society, "we endeavour to reject the case, by sending them to apply elsewhere." (96) The bad reputation of pauper girls was still present when Mrs. Senior made her survey some ten years later; prison commissioners, the Lock hospital, and various refuges still agreed that the workhouse girls were hard and unamenable. (97)

Bowyer (98), Mozley (99) and Tufnell (100) all agreed (11] that girls did not turn out as well as the boys. The bivalent standards adopted with regard to the sex conduct of men and women respectively was of importance here; deviations from accepted standards of sexual behaviour were considered more reprehensible in the female than in the male,

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i. All these reports came in 1872-3 and one suspects that they were preparing the way for the adverse report by Mrs. Senior on the education of girls which appeared in the next report of the Local Government Board.

largely, it seems, because of the fact of maternity, though Bowyer seems to have believed that sexual misconduct itself had a more debilitating effect upon the female than upon the male character. "Girls," he wrote, "are...less fortunate than the boys because of the different estimate which must be made in the two sexes, of a <sup>breach</sup> ~~breach~~ of the virtue of chastity, both on account of the consequences which it entails and of the influence it exercises on the general character." (101) In a private letter to Chadwick, Tufnell could afford to be much more blunt: "Girls," he wrote, "(owing to babies) are always more likely to fail than boys." (102)

These and other questions affecting the education of pauper girls were discussed by Mrs. Nassau Senior when she investigated the education of pauper girls in the metropolitan poor law institutions. The inquiry was admirably planned, using controlled samples in the approved modern style, and painstakingly executed. Every metropolitan girl sent out in 1871 and 1872 was followed up as far as possible and, though no information could be obtained regarding 180 of the 670 girls involved, only 79 had good reports, 78 had bad reports and the bulk were either fair -145- or unsatisfactory -188. (103) A more detailed examination was made in the case of a group of girls who began work in 1868 after not less than five years continuous education in one of three selected representative pauper schools. These

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i. Compare Clutterbuck's survey of 1880 which concluded that out of 506 pauper children sent out, 360 were truthful, 397 cheerful, 398 obliging, 365 intelligent, 345 clean, 45 honest 344 industrious and 450 healthy and strong ! 10 L.G.B. 1880-I appx. 36 p.180.

51 girls were all followed up from post to post by Mrs. Senior's voluntary lady helpers until eventually complete case-histories were built up or trace was lost. Half of this group were "doing well," at least when contact was last established, and a few had been afflicted with disease; the remaining two fifths were not doing well, at any rate when contact was lost. (104) Mrs. Senior's conclusions in so far as they affected the education of the children in the schools, have been dealt with elsewhere; here it is necessary to summarise her views upon what has come to be called "after-care." She felt that the whole system of putting children out to work was mismanaged. The guardians' duty (under 15 Victoria cap. 11 sections 3 & 4) to arrange visits to the child till it reached the age of 16, ceased once the child, even though still under 16, left the first post, and, of course, many children deliberately left the first post to get away from the surveillance of poor law officials. (105) The officer usually made responsible for these visits -the relieving officer- was a busy man and consequently his visits were little more than nominal, (106) though some chaplains had been known to supplement them. (107) The relieving officer was also responsible for inspecting the premises before an employer was allowed to take a pauper servant; here again a less harrassed official would be able to make more thorough investigations. (108) Clearly this was woman's work, for not only had a woman an eye not easily deceived by outward show, but there were matters which girls

could not discuss with either a relieving officer or a chaplain. (I09) Consequently Mrs. Senior outlined a scheme whereby voluntary workers would form a society to carry out all these duties for the guardians besides providing a home for the girls between jobs, carrying out further training where necessary, and maintaining a register of young servants. (I10) The outcome of this extremely fruitful suggestion was the establishment of the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants, familiarly known as "Mabys", which eventually took over all the tasks outlined by Mrs. Senior.

Those in close contact with the children had for long realised a need for properly organised after care. Many local officials had done what they could within, and occasionally beyond, the regulations. In the fifties the matron of the Wolstanton and Burslem Union encouraged the old girls to return in the evenings to make fancy articles which were then awarded to those getting good reports from their employers. (I11) The chaplain of a district school had wanted to take ex-pupils over 16 who were out of a job back into the school for domestic duties in return for their keep pending the arrival of a new post. (I12) Faced with the difficult situation caused by the annual hiring of servants at a fair, a northern workhouse master took ex-pauper servant girls into the workhouse for the duration of the fair rather than have them lodging about the town and in moral danger. (I13) Mrs. Senior's plea was, then, for

placing the tentative arrangements on an organised footing by establishing a genuine after care service. The first move came when the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1876 (39 & 40 Victoria cap. 61 ) allowed guardians to appoint an officer to take charge of the visitation of children in their places of work. Forward looking unions such as Manchester (114) took advantage of the term "officer" by appointing a woman to the post. An important step came in 1879 when the Poor Law Amendment Act of that year (42 & 43 Victoria cap. 54 section 10 ) allowed guardians to contribute to the funds of associations which looked after girls and boys placed out in service. Thus the gap was bridged between the theory of what was desirable and the practice of what was possible; the poor law department had now made itself administratively and financially responsible for the maintenance of services which had been carried out first by high-minded workhouse officials as extraneous duties and then by equally high-minded voluntary workers.

Girls' organisations were the first in the field and here there was a considerable amount of early experience to draw upon; as early as 1850 Hannah Archer and Mrs Way (115) had urged lady visitors to keep a benevolent eye on the local workhouse and find places for those children "who should prove themselves worthy of patronage." In her later pamphlets Mrs. Archer's arguments turned towards the boarding out solution but always stressed the need for a partnership between official and voluntary effort in the supervision of



pauper girls. Following Mrs. Archer's lead in the Highworth and Swindon Union, of which her husband was chairman(II6), other groups of ladies began to take an interest in workhouse girls. (II7) The Workhouse Visiting Society, founded in 1858, sought to "befriend the destitute and orphan children in the schools and after they are placed in situations" (II8) and opened a home for ex-pauper girls in New Ormond Street in 1861, later registered as a certified school. (II9) Miss Tucker opened the Marylebone Preventive Mission for Workhouse Girls especially aimed at the girls from the St. Marylebone school at Southall.(I20) The best developed scheme was, however, that worked out in Bristol by Frances Power Cobbe and Margaret Elliot who visited girls in their posts and established a club for them (I21).

"Mabys" thus had some experience to build on when it began its work soon after the publication of Mrs. Senior's report.<sup>(1)</sup> Though specifically aimed at Metropolitan girls, it included others and at first confined itself to visiting children between 16 (I22) and 21 (I23). After the passing of the 1879 Poor Law Amendment Act it began to take over the guardians' supervisory duties from the moment the girls entered their first post. Soon the activities of the

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1. Though not formally established till 1875, "Mabys" was already working in 1874. (Pratt Pioneer Women 1897 p.233.) Even before Mrs. Senior's retirement from office, the metropolitan guardians had been approached by the secretaries of local associations. (See MS. Minutes of Kensington guardians 3rd. Dec. 1874 regarding letter from Miss Wilson dated 2nd. Nov. 1874.)

association found a place in the annual reports of the board and growth was rapid. In 1896 there were 1,050 ladies in the association and nearly all the metropolitan schools made use of its services. By then it had 31 branches, 3 central training homes, 15 branch lodging houses and 2 affiliated houses; at the end of 1893 it had charge of 8,624 girls, both pauper and non-pauper. (I24) This large organisation inspected the premises of would-be employers, visited the children in their situations, supplied them with lodgings in between jobs and kept a register which helped them to find new posts. The guardians who invited the association to undertake their supervisory duties received an excellent service for the donation they made to the society's funds.

In the country similar work was undertaken by the Girls Friendly Society. This society was organised on a diocesan basis and insisted upon the very highest moral standards. "Mabys" undertook the care of any girl (I25) but the G.F.S. refused to have anything to do with a girl who had ~~"gone"~~ "fallen from grace." (I26) Nevertheless a workhouse branch of the G.F.S. was established and, though not as spectacular in its achievements, carried out in the provinces work similar to that carried out by "Mabys". In 1879 the society had only 220 pauper girls in its care but by 1890 this had risen to 2,718 (I27) and by 1897 450 of the 649 unions allowed it to visit children. (I28) The society opened lodging houses and small training homes.

The religious nature of the G.F.S. organisation caused some difficulty despite the fact that it welcomed girls of all creeds. In Liverpool, therefore, a similar Roman Catholic organisation came into being (I29) and elsewhere small societies, and even individuals, formally and informally played their part in this great philanthropic work. In Nottinghamshire Miss Mason (later to be a Local Government Board inspector) was active; (I30) wherever philanthropy stirred there were pauper children in plenty to be visited and cherished. Occasionally over-enthusiasm led to friction with the poor law officials; "among the ladies...it would be too much to expect that all should act judiciously, and ill-advised interference on their part with poor law officials has not been unknown." (I31)

Girls were rather better provided for in this respect than boys; middle-class women had time on their hands and were anxious to prove that they were capable of playing a part in public affairs. Work on behalf of boys remained local and even individual and was never organised into large national associations. The breakdown of resident apprenticeship meant that boys who did not live at home needed a cheap yet respectable lodging, and it was this need that clubs and "Homes" supplied. These clubs were supported by voluntary funds<sup>(i)</sup> as well as the small charges made, and many catered for pauper boys, bringing them into comradeship with boys from other backgrounds, and freeing them from the "ghetto" of poor law organisations. In addition certain *i. Boards of guardians made contributions.*

poor law schools created their own after-care organisation s but these had the drawback of being able to look after only those boys who found work in or near the union. "St. Andrews Home and Club for Working Boys", which eventually settled down at 71, Dean Street, Soho claimed to be the first of the voluntary clubs in the field, tracing its history back to 1866. (~~130~~ 132) "Homes for Working Boys in London" was founded in 1870 (133) and the needs of orphan or destitute boys were specifically dealt with by the "Houseboy Brigade" (134). Eventually boys were taken into these homes from poor law schools even when they did not already have a job and work would be found for them from the home. There were few children in the Forest Gate school over 13, a witness told a committee in 1888; the boys went to the army or to the training ship and, if no other means were open, they would be sent to homes for working boys in London or to the Houseboy Brigade "and thus put in the way of getting their own living." (135) As far as the metropolis was concerned accent seems to have been placed more on using the clubs as employment exchanges and lodging houses rather than as a means of keeping a benevolent eye. It was for this reason that, towards the end of the century, the Kensington Lads Union was formed specifically for the visiting of former Banstead (i.e. Kensington and Chelsea Unions) boys. (136) Similarly in the provinces, the Lincoln Workhouse Boys Aid Society was established in 1891 (137). Miss Mason tried to place all this local effort on a national basis

using the Young Men's Friendly Society; a workhouse boys' department was established with Miss Mason at its head, (I38) but when the Departmental Committee issued its report in 1896 (I39) it was not able to mention any nationally organised movement for the after-care of boys. Sterling work was being done by individuals on a local basis, it reported, but there was still ample scope for further philanthropic effort.

How far could a pauper child progress in the world ? There is an obvious difficulty in collecting evidence on this point for the more outstanding a person was, the more likely was he to conceal a pauper background. A school-master passing on some news of his former pupils wrote, "I have given my word that the information should in no wise damage them. I believe it is the fear of this which induces them to break off all communication with those who knew their origin, lest it should become known and be a source of annoyance and insult." (I40) Before 1870, the strongest hope for progress lay on the academic side for the large pauper schools were, up to that time, <sup>among</sup> the most efficient teaching units in the country. Tufnell knew of a former pauper pupil teacher who became the principal of a large overseas college; of another who became an assistant inspector and graduated from London University; and of several who had graduated at Oxford or Cambridge. (I41) In 1875 he was able to recall several workhouse orphans who, having become pupil teachers, eventually took the cloth and became beneficed clergymen. (I42) ~~The army also offered~~

A successful pauper schoolmaster could gain promotion within the poor law service; Andrew Chappell and his wife, the headmaster and matron respectively of the Limehouse Children's Establishment of the Stepney Union, in 1873 became superintendent and matron of the Walsall and West Bromwich District School. (I43) H.J.Hagger, a Battersea Training School graduate, took over the Liverpool Kirkdale school at 18 years of age in 1846, and did so well that, after ten years, he became assistant vestry clerk and, in 1859, vestry clerk, "the chief executive officer of one of the most important local authorities. (I44) The army also offered promotion; as might be expected several ex-paupers rose to distinction in the realm of military music and in 1908 one school alone was able to claim 5 regimental bandmasters. (I45) But progress could also be made in other branches, as witnessed by Chief Warrant Officer Southern of the Indian Staff and Lieutenant Carlo Wiggins of the Ordnance Corps, both of whom began their careers as pauper boys. (I46) The commemorative volume issued by the North Surrey District School in 1908 (I47) bears a fine photograph of its most distinguished old boy, Mr. George Mobsby, C.M.G. wearing his court dress. Mobsby, who surveyed the Yang-tse-kiang in 1877-1880, was decorated by Edward VII for his services to the Royal Navy. He was a member of the Royal Society of Arts and wrote pamphlets upon navigation and upon the Yang-tse-kiang. / and what of the girls ? In an age when opportunity for women of any class was small indeed, it is not

surprising that there is no record of any pauper girl rising to distinction. Again teaching offered the most hope and in the ten years from 1865 to 1875 one school alone sent out 18 girls as pupil teachers who, having passed through training colleges, obtained posts with salaries of £50 to £75 per annum. (148) There are the few, of course, whose genius <sup>\*\*\*</sup> creates for them a world reputation and pauper schools can boast of one such pupil, for Charles Chaplin obtained almost all his formal education during the few months he spent at the Central London District School at Hanwell, between 1896 and 1898. (149)

Chapter I3. Conclusion: "the battered column".

"For the poor shall never cease out of the land."  
Deuteronomy xv 2.

When Sidney and Beatrice Webb had completed their survey of the English poor law, (1) they expressed the hope that others would investigate "particular periods and subjects." (2) In following up that suggestion the writer has hoed between the furrows of a small part of the large field first ploughed by those two remarkable researchers. The true measure of the Webbs' achievement can, perhaps, be taken only by those who have themselves acquired some familiarity with the materials from which they worked, and, let it be said at once, the more one's acquaintance with the sources grows the more one's admiration, even astonishment, increases. Their work in this field alone surely represents one of the most outstanding privately-pursued research projects of their generation. The work is thorough, the references precise, the conclusions well-nigh irresistible and these volumes are now quoted with the authority accorded to original sources. It has therefore seemed proper for the writer to offer <sup>(1)</sup> a short list of errata, many of them misprints, some of them trifling and none of them important, in the hope of rendering still more fruitful the volumes which, though now out of print, are, judging by their

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1. Appx. F. p. 355. *ft*



rarity, treasured by their owners.

It may be thought that the present writer's detailed study of a section of the poor law wherein the Webbs regarded the authorities as being particularly vulnerable gives a somewhat more favourable picture. The Webbs' methods of research (3) was one which would tend to reproduce in the final account any bias caused by partiality in the sources used. Their main source, as for the present writer, was the mass of printed reports, returns, orders and statutes, but this was amplified by information gleaned from the MS. records (mostly the minutes of board meetings) of numerous representative boards of guardians. Though much of the material in guardians' records is routine, that which bears directly upon central office policy is more likely to appear only when the system is working under difficulties; the child who is beaten appears in the minutes, the one who masters the cornet in three months does not. It may well be, therefore, that the guardians' records give a somewhat prejudiced view of the workings of the system outlined in the printed material. The present writer has used local guardians' records only for the solution of particular problems concerning particular unions, and some of these were solved not by consulting the local record but by referring to the appropriate volume of the 17,000 kept by the central authorities containing the correspondence with each union. The Webbs seem to have been aware of these volumes but the only MS. material of the central departments used by

them seem to have been the MS. minutes of the Poor Law Commissioners and the letter book of Sir Francis Head. It may well be that they were prevented from using the office correspondence files, the inspectors' personal files, the school files and the rest of the material now lodged in the Public Record Office in the MH series, all of which have been used in the present study. These papers naturally have an opposite slant; one sees the first suggestion, the original draft order, the minutes thereon, the amended order and the various printings, and by following the reasoning of the officials step by step one has, perhaps, a little more sympathy with the attitudes which inspired policy. Often too, one can see the officials baulked by the blue sheet from the legal department, the printed "L.D." at the top a stern reminder of the finality of the opinion scribbled below, stating what "in the present state of the law" was not possible. Above all, however, the Webbs wrote in the spirit of 1909. <sup>(1)</sup> This is history with a point of view, and all the better for it; had they not been inspired by the judgement passed by the Royal Commission with which they were so intimately connected, the volumes would never have been written and the labyrinthine maze of poor law administration would have been left for less able teams to tackle. Finally, for the study of pauper children, the Committee of Council material is of importance. Education department letters

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1. Their English poor law history in 3 volumes fills out the argument so cogently stated in their English Poor Law Policy of 1910.

have been preserved in the poor law correspondence and the series of printed and reports specially devoted to pauper schools are, though not used by the Webbs, <sup>(1)</sup> of first rate importance, particularly for the period up to 1863. This source provides much evidence of how the intentions of progressive officials were baulked by the limitations imposed by the poor law code.

Though much was defective in the arrangements made for pauper children in 1896, the previous sixty years had seen great advances. Social welfare had improved steadily throughout the period, once "less eligibility" and the repressive overtones of the 1834 act were left behind. Though few went all the way with Dickens whose compassionate pen called them "a class the most innocent on earth as well as the most wretched and defenceless" (4) there many more who refused to accept the axiom that pauper children were congenitally criminal, tainted by their pauper parentage, and therefore in need of an upbringing at once reformatory and deterrent. The newer view thought rather of making a pauper child's upbringing approximate as far as possible to that received by a normal child in a good working class home. The comparatively few children who, boarded out, in small certified homes, or in scattered homes, did receive such a nurture were indeed

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1. They therefore lacked knowledge of the differences between the C. of C. and the P.L.B. prior to 1863. Their grasp of the subject was such, however, that they guessed that such was the case. English Poor Law Policy 1910 p.114 lines 3-4.

fortunate compared with those immured within the <sup>u</sup>giardians' institutions, and the success of these experiments led to the widespread present day adoption of these non-institutional methods.

On the educational side, though pauper schools were, with a few exceptions, far from outstanding in the early years, this merely reflected the educational apathy which the recently established Committee of Council was beginning to dissipate. The parliamentary grant of 1847 in aid of the salaries of poor law teachers wrought great improvements and a few outstanding pauper schools were, as teaching institutions, amongst the finest in the country, though others were undeniably bad. On the whole, however, it cannot be denied that pauper children, for most of the third quartile of the century, received a schooling hardly inferior to that of most working class children; this generalisation refers to mere schooling, excluding those social factors contained in the term "education", and it may well tell us more of the low standards in schools established for children of the working classes than it does of the high standards in those devoted to the needs of paupers. The improvements wrought by the 1847 award stemmed from the conditions attached by Kay Shuttleworth to the award; saturation the limit was soon reached, however, for a school is as good as its teachers, and the failure of the various schemes for recruiting and keeping efficient teachers meant that the further improvement of pauper schools was

impossible. The high water mark was reached at about the time when the Royal Commission on Popular Education was -somewhat unfairly, we have suggested- being highly critical of the most common type of pauper school. Some of the Royal Commission's assistant commissioners working in the field spoke highly of pauper education when compared with that given in public elementary schools: "It struck me," one reported, "that the condition of the workhouse schools very nearly approached the ideal of what elementary education in this country...ought to be." (5) "Of all the schools which I examined," wrote another, "the workhouse schools seemed to me to be much the best." (6) Education over the whole country was, however, going forward at an increasing pace, making up for the years of indecision, whilst the pauper schools were standing still. As trained teachers left the pauper schools they were replaced by untrained recruits and when the 1870 act got under way all hope of attracting capable teachers into the pauper schools went. A few large district and separate schools remained outstanding, and as late as 1908 a pauper school represented British education at an international exhibition. (7) Yet even these apparently successful large schools were found wanting; they, the only officially sponsored schools of the whole period, were criticised after Mrs. Senior's report in 1874 for failing in the social aspects of education; their essential principle, concentration, was blamed and the newer methods, pioneered for the most part by

non-official personages, dispers<sup>ed</sup>~~ing~~ the children so that individual attention, "mothering" as Mrs. Senior put it, could be given. Hitherto the large school's success as a teaching institution had masked its social failure but now it was suggested that large schools failed even in their primary aim of "dispauperisation", for segregating pauper children into special schools cut off from the general education system served only to isolate them from the rest of the country's children. The boarded out child, going to the school board school, carrying his own school pence, wearing clothes similar to those worn by independent children and returning "home" at night had a much greater chance of being integrated into the working class community than the institution-bred pauper.

The attack upon the pauper school -it was an attack upon the principal of institutionalisation itself- led to the development of a body of accepted theory upon the subject now known as child welfare. These were the state's children and the public conscience was stirred by the sight of dreary "crocodiles" of pale-faced uniformed children trudging wearily through the streets on their weekly walk. A notable part was played by women -some of whom were no doubt anxious to demonstrate the need for a feminine voice in public affairs and many such "workers" had articles printed in the nation's periodicals. This process of public enlightenment led, as we have seen, to an amelioration of the pauper child's lot

but it would not be too much to claim that it also led to a re-thinking of the whole problem of child nurture.

Because these were the nation's children the best solution possible was sought and if the new ideas were good for paupers why not also for independent children ?

Administratively the pauper schools had offered the state experience in running a system of state schools long before the 1870 Education Act. In fact the school boards of 1870 were in some respects parallel to the boards of management of district schools erected under the 1844 act. The well-tried poor law system of voluntary local executives, aided by professional bureaucrats and directed by professional administrators at the centre, was here applied to a cognate social need. Education had a more direct debt to the poor law schools, however; Kay, the architect of the pre-1870 school system, had his educational ideas moulded and developed during his years with the poor law and many of the methods he later employed in the nation's schools were first tried out in pauper schools. The simultaneous system, the stepped-up desks, the central hall, the pupil teacher system, were all tried out in a pauper context. Above all, Battersea, perhaps the most <sup>important</sup> ~~fruitful~~ of all nineteenth century educational foundations, was established to supply a poor law need; founded by two poor law officers, and financed by their salaries, it trained poor law boys as poor law teachers before it became a school for the training

of teachers in public elementary schools. Most of the debt of education to the pauper schools belongs to the period when the pauper school system was being developed. By 1870 a state of stagnation was reached; mechanically arguments on behalf of the large school first used nearly forty years before were produced, and it was left to outside forces to pioneer the significant new developments. Slowly the authorities were forced into accepting the view that "child pauperism" was merely a type of social maladjustment to be corrected by social means rather than semi-punitive education. Schooling there must be, of course, but once 1870 brought public education authorities on the scene, the days of a duplicate pauper educational system were numbered. These ideas were not new when Mrs. Senior embodied them in her report of 1874, but we <sup>may</sup> make allowance for public departments which, dedicated to the principle of precedent-finding, tend to preserve the ideas of yesterday. That another generation should have passed before the first real attack was made upon the inadequate system erected upon the principles brought out sixty years before, is less easily excused. Perhaps the reformers exaggerated the sufferings of the pauper scholars for, though avid in their search for new ideas and experience, children are conservative in their choice of personal and physical contacts, the first trait being one of the joys, just as the latter is one of the solaces, of teaching; we may, perhaps, infer, therefore,



that most pauper children held their barrack or workhouse schools in as much affection as better born children held their public schools. A system which trades upon the unbounded goodwill of children, and upon the almost unbounded goodwill of teachers, is, however, unlikely to survive, and the quiet transference of pauper schools to the Education Department in 1904 was a silent condemnation of a department which had found it impossible to serve two masters. On the one side was the poor law code, its cramping regulations the very antithesis of what true education, the other side, demanded. Slowly, with what might -appropriately- be called "the inevitability of gradualness", the repressive poor law of 1834 was being transformed into an ameliorative social service organisation. At any one moment the authority could be considered either as acting beyond the strict requirements of the law or as ignoring the postulates of progressive opinion. The middle course pleased no one and public sympathy for what Thackeray's daughter called "the battered column" (8) turned opinion against the central department. The decision of 1904 was the logical conclusion to the vote of "no confidence" passed in 1896 and brought to an end the system first established under the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834.

A P P E N D I X .

A. Statistics.

- i. Table of statistics of child pauperism  
1849 to 1897.
- ii. Graph of same.
- iii. Statistics of means of educating paupers.
- iv. Number of unions making use of public  
elementary schools.
- v. Incidence of pauperism as a % of total  
population.

- B. Corporal punishment in pauper schools -a case history.
- C. Nassau Senior and the Royal Commission on Popular  
Education.
- D. The staff of the North Surrey District School 1880-I.
- E. Table of district schools.
- F. Some notes on the poor law writings of B. & S. Webb.

Appendix A. Statistics. 1. Total of pauper children relieved (outdoor and indoor)  
on first day of January and July in England and Wales,  
for each year from 1849 to 1896.

	<u>Ist. January.</u>		<u>Total.</u>		<u>Ist. July.</u>		<u>Total.</u>
	<u>Indoor.</u>	<u>Outdoor.</u>			<u>Indoor.</u>	<u>Outdoor.</u>	
I849	50,659	328,090	378,749		42,179	289,126	331,305
I850	46,515	303,965	350,480	I850	38,105	272,136	310,241
I851	43,138	276,613	319,751		36,888	263,737	300,625
I852	40,557	264,765	305,322		36,401	252,516	288,917
I853	39,822	246,676	286,488		35,911	235,749	271,660
I854	45,431	258,747	304,178		43,224	255,761	298,985
I855	49,513	273,658	323,171		44,628	266,887	311,515
I856	51,851	289,785	341,636		43,008	259,953	302,961
I857	50,216	270,003	320,219		43,447	251,701	295,148
I858	53,551	311,282	364,833		44,710	263,009	307,719
I859	46,836	271,067	317,903		39,828	254,034	293,862
I860	42,989	260,585	303,574	I860	38,005	251,582	289,587
I861	48,248	275,053	323,301		44,171	261,492	305,663
I862	52,491	295,278	347,769		45,727	294,785	340,512
I863	52,204	381,448	433,652		46,698	323,973	369,671
I864	49,882	320,468	370,350		43,799	282,377	326,176
I865	48,933	301,940	350,873		43,715	270,630	314,345
I866	48,593	277,870	326,463		44,240	266,333	310,573
I867	51,304	294,573	345,877		48,431	283,612	332,043
I868	56,505	323,470	379,975		51,939	296,734	348,673
I869	58,193	319,979	378,172		51,488	297,457	348,945
I870	56,869	335,257	392,216		49,970	299,373	349,243
I871	55,832	337,377	393,209	I870	47,790	294,794	342,584
I872	50,339	290,602	340,941		45,125	253,736	298,861
I873	49,090	250,667	299,757		43,790	231,148	274,938
I874	47,583	228,410	275,993		44,444	212,583	257,027
I875	47,806	219,792	267,598		43,390	199,892	243,282
I876	46,260	195,888	242,148		43,450	183,904	227,354
I877	48,240	185,864	234,104		46,911	184,162	231,073

	<u>Ist. January.</u>			<u>Total.</u>	<u>Ist. July.</u>		<u>Total.</u>
	<u>Indoor.</u>	<u>Outdoor.</u>			<u>Indoor.</u>	<u>Outdoor.</u>	
1878	52,140	192,368	1878	244,508	49,842	192,130	241,972
1879	54,003	219,429		273,432	52,113	212,127	264,240
1880	58,904	233,464	1880	292,368	54,538	208,755	263,293
1881	58,827	214,257		273,084	55,056	207,525	262,581
1882	59,065	211,230		270,295	54,415	201,965	256,380
1883	58,488	210,276		268,764	54,040	199,471	253,511
1884	57,685	200,290		257,975	54,255	195,537	249,792
1885	57,242	203,681		260,923	53,094	195,388	248,482
1886	57,039	213,668		270,707	53,177	203,261	256,438
1887	56,471	214,676		271,147	52,979	198,560	251,539
1888	56,475	213,324		269,799	51,365	207,045	258,410
1889	54,754	204,077		258,831	50,203	186,661	236,864
1890	52,551	190,095	1890	242,646	48,253	178,806	227,059
1891	50,793	186,460		237,253	48,234	177,970	226,204
1892	51,680	177,807		229,487	49,678	177,043	226,721
1893	53,266	184,779		238,045	51,133	177,477	228,610
1894	56,575	192,347		248,922	52,472	178,262	230,734
1895	56,486	187,895		244,381	52,729	181,161	233,890
1896	55,250	184,989		240,239	51,048	173,601	224,649
1897	53,509	178,720		232,229			

Detailed figures for each year appear in the annual report for that year. Useful summaries will be found in II P.L.B. 1858 appx. 33 pp. 196-199 (1849 to 1859) and in 26 L.G.B. 1896-7 appx. 62 pp. 318-321 (1858 to 1897).

## Appendix A ii.

Total childpauperism  
Jan. 1st., 1849 to 1897  
in England and Wales.  
A. Indoor.  
B. Outdoor.  
C. Total.

400,000

350,000

300,000

250,000

200,000

150,000

100,000

50,000

0

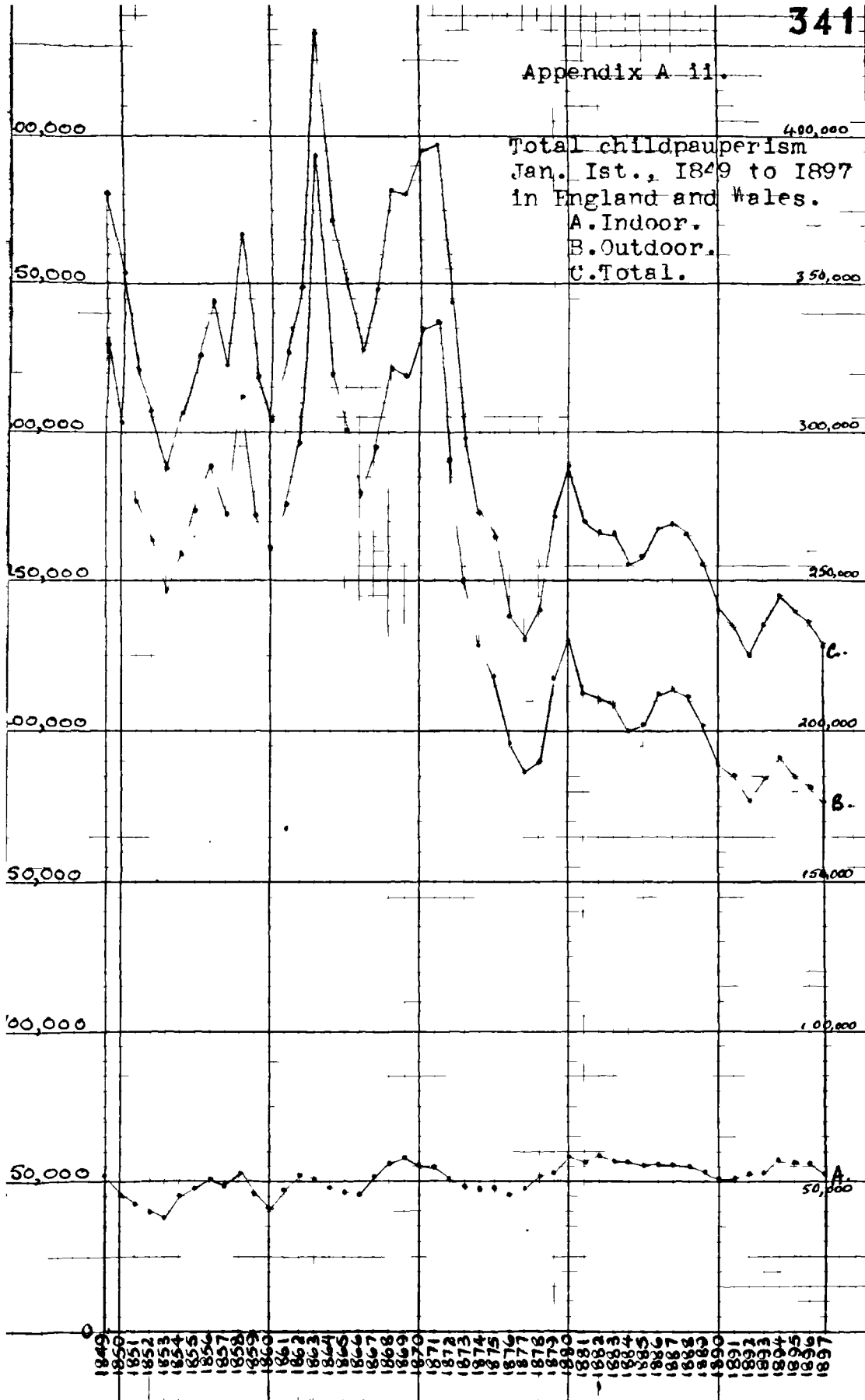
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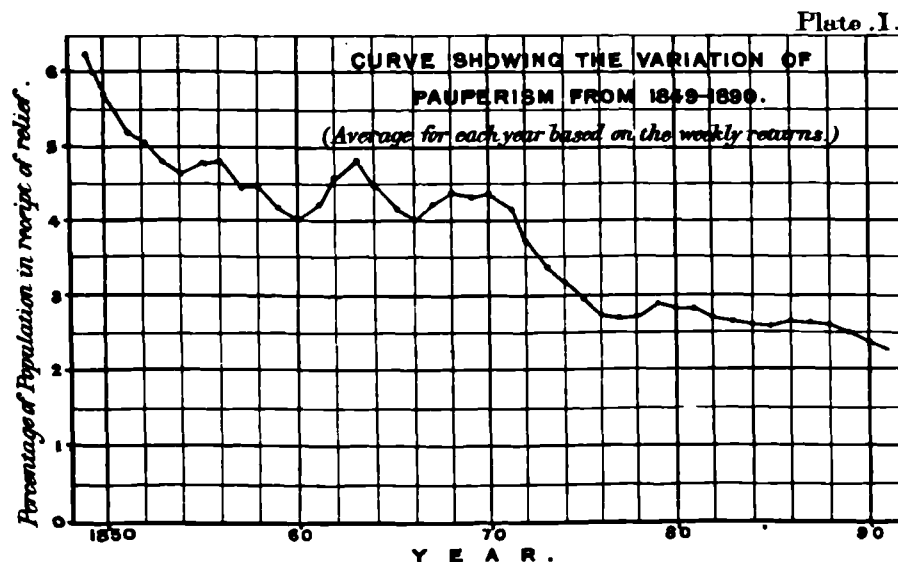
Appendix A iv. Number of unions sending some at least of the pauper children out to public elementary day schools for their education.

1861	30
1874	98
1883	215
1886	266
1887	292
1888	306
1889	311
1890	325
1891	346
1892	378
1893	397
1894	419
1895	434

Sources: The first two figures are from Chance Children under the Poor Law 1897 p.38 and the remainder from the annual reports of the Local Government Board.

Appendix A v. The incidence of total pauperism (all classes) shown as a percentage of total population. (England and Wales, 1849 to 1890).

Source: G.Udny Yule in Journal of the Royal Statistical Society vol.lxx 1896 facing p.334.



Appendix B. Corporal Punishment in Pauper Schools  
-a case history.

The following extracts, from a pauper's story of his schooldays, give evidence relating to the use of corporal punishment which has not been used in the text since one may, perhaps, regard it as somewhat exaggerated. The account is not an immediate record but a reminiscence written much later at the special request of an inspector who would be very gratified at the sentiments expressed. Nevertheless the account, written by one who had become a schoolmaster in a pauper school before gaining further promotion, was published in 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 (pp.248-259) and aroused no comment either of disbelief or surprise.

The writer, having entered a West London workhouse, was caned on his second day in the workhouse for sleeping in church and was again caned (on each hand) the following day. "The tailor and shoemaker had just the same power of caning as the schoolmaster. Between the three there was a great deal of caning...The shoemaker...did really seem to me to love to flog the boys. I once saw a boy with the two sides of his face black and blue...I also saw him once...offer a boy a penny to take four cuts on one hand without flinching. The boy put his open hand upon the cutting board and took the four cuts, but Mr. Walters [the shoemaker] would not give him the penny...The utter impossibility of getting away and the terrible certainty of getting the cane for misbehaviour inspired me with terror.

I had it more for bad language than anything else. It was no use trying to love the masters, I readed them... When finally I knew right from wrong I did not get beaten nearly so much...When Walters left most of the boys seemed half wild with joy..."

This unfortunate boy was then placed under Mr. Allen the tailor. He "early took a dislike to me...Three days a week I was under him, and except the first month or so I got regularly two thrashings a day...Allen had me thrashed by the schoolmaster, Mr. Saltley on an average twice a day, that is twice a day on three days of the week. He seldom pretended in the shop that I was guilty of any wrong, but as regularly as he went to his luncheon I went with him to the school, and a few words whispered in Mr. Saltley's ear did the business. Mr. Saltley was wrong in not asking any questions; it generally was a mere whisper and then a flogging. Once only do I remember hearing the charge, but I should be really ashamed even if you were to wish me to, to write it on paper. That man, sir, was a blackguard, and may God forgive him...Almost every boy in the school pitied me, though they did not dare say so."

One evening the boys were standing in a line singing hymns and the writer's feet were six feet over the line. Allen "marched just where I stood, and without appearing to take the slightest notice of me, I was felled to the floor with one of the most awful open-handed smacks I have ever had. I was taken up insensible and the blood spurting from



my ear. I have never thoroughly got over it...there is never a winter goes by when I do not feel much pain in the ears and head generally...The affair was very cruel but I think it was hushed up. He did not have me thrashed for two or three days after that." Eventually Allen ran off with the daughter of the schoolmistress and finally went to Australia, deserting his wife and family.

Another master, Mr. Dawson, had a nerve-racking technique. "It was dreadful to see him teach... 'multiply the second and third term together and divide by the first' was his constant theme. He used to scream it out at the top of his voice, and to see him throw a ruler, or a cane, or the chalk or anything that happened to be handy, at the poor unfortunate boy who could not understand..." was distressing. The writer next mentions that when a hand was stretched out near him he instinctively ducked away and also developed a stammer. Things improved as he went up the school; "I passed whole weeks without a hiding..." Then a new schoolmaster came and was lax enough to allow the tailor and the shoemaker to use the cane. Mr. Daintry the tailor "loved to see boys, no matter who, writhe under the cane." Once "he brought out what we used to call the 'madman's cane', a thick red one, and he ordered me to hold out my hand. I refused on the ground that the utmost a monitor should suffer was the loss of his place. In a moment he had my right arm twisted completely round, with the back of my right hand fixed firmly on his left knee like a vice, and as I opened

and shut my hand , I caught the cane all over it. The pain was intense and worse as I had a half-healed cut on the hand at the time. The doctor heard of it and I was put in the infirmary till my hand got well."

Shortly afterwards his workhouses school was closed and the children were sent to the South Metropolitan District School at Sutton where he did well, and received very humane treatment. "Twice only while there I had my ears boxed, once I deserved that and more and once I did not, which on being discovered Mr. Todhunter apologised in the presence of all the teachers...How I did love him..."

Appendix C. Nassau Senior and the report of the Royal  
Commission on Popular Education.

The report of the Royal Commission on Popular Education in its section devoted to pauper education was extremely favourable towards the district and separate schools and correspondingly critical of the workhouse schools. This part of the report was very largely the work of Nassau Senior, one of the members of the Commission, and it was claimed that he had succeeded in saddling the Commission with his own somewhat prejudiced view of the question. All the Commissioners with the exception of Senior were very busy men and he alone was in a position to concentrate upon the business of the Commission. Furthermore, as Senior had been a member of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, he was acknowledged as an expert on pauperism and it was natural that he should play a leading part when pauper education was discussed. In fact the section of the report dealing with this subject was drawn up by Senior and accepted with very little alteration. Senior admitted that "we relied almost completely on this subject on documentary evidence." This "documentary evidence" consisted of snippets which Senior or his secretary had cut from the published reports of the inspectors of workhouse schools and stuck into a book. This book of cuttings was then passed round among the members of I.S.C. (1862) on Poor Relief 3rd. Report p.38.

ii. ibid.  
iii. loc. cit. p.39.

the Commission. Senior gives references to 37 passages which he considered to be the "most important portions of the evidence on which the report of the Education Commissioners was founded,"<sup>(1)</sup> and, far from being a representative cross-section, or even a "random sample", these passages seem to coincide remarkably with Senior's personal view. Of the five inspectors the one opposed to district schools, Browne, is quoted only 4 times as against 7, 10, 7, and 9 times for the others. Furthermore the four quotations taken from Browne<sup>(ii)</sup> are not representative of his typical views; in one he is actually quoting an opinion favourable to district schools which he later criticises -Senior included the quotation but not the criticism. At no place in the four quotations from Browne is the main anti-district school argument stated.

A further example of Senior's mishandling of documentary evidence is provided by his use of a letter from a pauper boy dated Feb. 24th., 1850 and originally printed in Ruddock's report for January, 1851.<sup>(iii)</sup> Senior printed a shortened form of this letter (without indicating any omissions) in the Report of the Royal Commission<sup>(iv)</sup> and in his own Suggestions on Popular Education.<sup>(v)</sup> The boy's letter was a plea to a guardian to support his application for financial assistance to enable him to make an excursion out of the workhouse in

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i.S.C.(1862) Poor Relief 3rd. Report appx. 3 p.193.  
 ii. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1855-6 pp.95-100; 1856-7 pp.143-6 and 151; 1857-8 pp.153, 157, 161, 503.  
 iii. Mins.C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1850-1-2 p.110.  
 iv. vol.I. pp.357-8.  
 v. London, 1861.

search of work. Senior printed the letter since it claims that although the boy's sojourn in the workhouse school had enabled him to become "verry [sic] well educated" he was quite unfit for work on a farm. Senior's editing concealed the fact that the boy had already had money and an outfit from the guardians for a similar jaunt two months before.<sup>(1)</sup>

The Royal Commission had other types of evidence upon which it might call. There were, for example, the replies to the circular which was sent to selected individuals.<sup>(11)</sup> Senior claimed that out of the 17 replies to the pauper schools question 4 approved of workhouse schools and 11 "strongly condemned" them. Investigating the actual replies one finds that such tentative opinions as workhouse education was "not in general well carried out" were included in the latter category. And what of the oral evidence? There was limited time for hearing witnesses and we do not know what means were adopted for choosing those called.<sup>(11)</sup> As far as pauper education was concerned three only were heard, Kay-Shuttleworth, Tufnell and Temple, all of them being outstanding propagandists for district schools. Senior's conduct both as a member and a chairman was far from being impartial. He used "leading questions" and immediately sought to discredit any praise of workhouse

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- i. Andrew Doyle printed the complete letter in P.P. (510) 1862 xlix Part I pp.68-9 and in a pamphlet version of the same report (n.d. pp.26-7. There is a copy in British Library of Polit. & Econ. Science R(0)42(865) )
  - ii. S.C. (1862) 3rd. Report. appx. 2. p.190.
  - iii. 3 pauper schoolmasters were heard but not on this topic.

(1)  
 schools. The main case in favour of district schools and against workhouse schools was made on 30th. January and 2nd. February, 1860 and on both these occasions Senior was chairman.

Senior's attempt at steam-rollering the opposing view failed; he had tried to do again what the 1832-4 Royal Commission on the Poor Laws had done, in seeking evidence in support of a previously conceived case. The public of 1861 was more sophisticated than that of a generation before; it had been brought up on the blue book and knew as well as any Benthamite radical how to manipulate facts. Senior over-reached himself in seeking to blame the Poor Law Board for failing to establish district schools all over the country, for this aspersion called down upon his words all the resources of the Board which then set itself the task of discrediting those sections of the Royal Commission's report touching upon pauper education. Senior's failure in 1861 was, therefore, in a measure encompassed by the successor to the body created by his triumph in 1834.

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1. See, for example, his interruption with Q.2925 vol. vi  
 p.363.

Appendix D.Staff employed at a district school.

The following "List of the permanent officers and servants of the North Surrey District School" was published at pp.31 and 32 of the annual report of the managers for the year ending with Lady Day, 1881. The report pointed out that 25 of the officers enumerated were, in fact, ex-pupils placed on the staff at the age of 14 and retained till approximately 17 when they obtained situations elsewhere and were replaced by other children.

	<u>Resident, with rations.</u>			<u>Salary.</u>		
Superintendent and head schoolmaster	195-	0	0			
Matron	60	0	0			
4 assistant masters (£60;£50;£45;£45)	200	0	0			
Girls' schoolmaster	92	0	0			
Girls' schoolmistress	57	0	0			
- - - assistant	40	0	0			
Infants' schoolmistress	57	0	0			
Infirmary -	30	0	0			
Industrial trainer (cookery & laundry)	30	0	0			
- - - (housework)	20	0	0			
Sewing mistress	30	0	0			
4 - - - assistants (£18;£8;£7;£5)	38	0	0			
Drill and assistant band master	40	0	0			
Yard master	30	0	0			
Assistant yard master	20	0	0			
Yard mistress	22	0	0			
Seaman instructor	28	0	0			
Porter and porteress	42	0	0			
7 Pupil teachers @1/- per week	18	4	0			
2 - - - @ £2-10-0 per annum	5	0	0			
3 - - - @ £2-12-0 - - -	7	16	0			
Head infants' attendant	25	0	0			
6 assistant infants' attendants (£12,£7,£7 £6,£5, and £5.)	42	0	0			
2 Receiving ward attendants (£25 & £20)	45	0	0			
2 Boys' attendants (£18 & £16)	34	0	0			
2 Dormitory maids @ £14	28	0	0			
Head laundress	29	0	0			
5 assistant laundresses (£16,£14,£14,£14,£5)	63	0	0			
Cook.	30	0	0			
Undercook and scullery maid.	14	0	0			
Parlour maid	16	0	0			
Hall maid	15	0	0			

	£	s	d
Kitchen maid	12	0	0
2 Sick nurses (£25 & £18)	43	0	0
Infirmary laundress	14	0	0
Infirmary Cook	14	0	0
- scrubbers (£14 & £10)	24	0	0

Resident without rations.

Engineer	104	0	0
Farm bailiff	65	0	0
Farm labourer	52	0	0

Non-resident.

Chaplain	250	0	0
Medical Officer	200	0	0
Clerk	250	0	0
Bandmaster	60	0	0
Gardener	65	0	0
Infirmary engineer	58	10	0
2 assistant engineers (27/- & 2/- per week)	75	8	0
Stoker	58	10	0
Tailor	65	0	0
Assistant tailor	5	4	0
Carpenter	91	0	0
2 assistant carpenters (8/- & 2/- per week)	27	0	0
Plumber and painter	93	12	0
Assistant painter	58	16	0
Superintendent's clerk	91	0	0
Baker	65	0	0
Bricklayer	91	0	0
Night man	52	0	0
Shoemaker	65	0	0
2 labourers (24/6 & 22/6 per week)	122	0	0

"In addition to the above, occasional assistance has to be given in the various departments."



# Appendix E. Table of District Schools.

Date.	District	Place of School	Opened	1858	1869	1874	1882	1890	Average attendance for half year to Lady Day:-
1849	Central London	Norwood to 1857 then Hanwell.	1849	1093	989	1178	1259	1039	
1849	South Metropolitan	Sutton	1855	555	1306	1572	1545	2293	
1849	North Surrey	Anerley	1850	871	719	460	831	697	
1849	Farnham & H. Wintney	Aldershot to 1854 then Crondall.	1849	135	153	121	180	119	
1849	South East Shropshire	Quatt	1851	108	184	151	198	143	
1849	Feading & Wokingham	Wokingham	1849	151	126	166	177	182	
1868	West London	West Ashford	1872	-	-	453	773	696	
1868	Lines. & Notts. }								
1868	Kensington								
1868	Finsbury								
1868	Forest Gate								
1869	Walsall & W. Bromwich								
1876	Kensington & Chelsea								
1877	Brentwood								
		Dissolved shortly after formation.							
		Forest Gate	1868	-	-	1075	572	590	
		Wigmore	1872	-	-	243	347	271	
		Banstead	1880	-	-	-	589	589	
		Brentwood & Harold	1877	-	-	-	702	Dissolved (1885)	
		Court							

## Training Ships:-

	"Goliath" (part of Forest Gate District)	1870	Destroyed by fire 22nd. December, 1875.
1876	"Exmouth" (under Metropolitan Asylums Board)	1876	- - - 541 573

1. This figure includes boys on board "Goliath".

Appendix F. Some notes on the poor law writings of Sidney and Beatrice Webb.

English Poor Law Policy. 1910.

pp.I05-6. The education of outdoor pauper children was made a condition of relief by the Elementary Education Act of 1873. (36 & 37 Victoria cap. 86).

p. I08 Three of the district schools founded in 1849 were far from holding 800 to 1,000 children. (See appx. E. above.) Separate schools were also largely adopted within the metropolis.

p. III The act of 1849 did not promote the removal of children from the workhouse; it was passed as a "panic" measure to regulate such profit-making establishments as Drouet's where cholera had recently broken out. The Certified Schools Act (p.III n.2.) sprang from the 1849 act only in the sense that philanthropists had to be afforded a new act since they were precluded from proceeding under the 1849 act.

p. II2 The authorities were certainly aware of the outdoor children from the mid 1850s on. T.B.Browne was recommending that outdoor children should be educated, Denison's act was passed and several parliamentary returns were called for.

p.II3 n.I. Many suggestions concerning the training and placing out of children were made in the reports of the inspectors of workhouse schools from 1847 onwards. These reports were printed with the Committee of Council material.

p. II4 The inspectors appointed in 1863 by the Poor Law Board were, apart from one new appointment, the same inspectors as had carried out the task for the Committee of Council. Between 1847 and 1863 their reports had been printed with the minutes of the Committee of Council. One of the inspectors, Browne, was opposed to the district school idea.

English Poor Law History. Part II "The last 100 years"  
vol. 1.

p. I04 n.I. The printed Abstracts of Correspondence cover  
1842-1844.

p. 193 n.2. Villiers was President from 1859 to 1866. According to Woodward (Age of Reform 1938 p.641.) his predecessor was also a member of the cabinet, though he held office for a month only.

p. 262 The Central London District School did not take over Aubin's school at Norwood till the formation of the district in 1849. The special grant to Norwood ceased in 1846 because the parliamentary grant in aid of the salaries of the teachers in pauper establishments was first paid in 1847.

"1837" on this page should read "1838". The reference given in note 3 to substantiate this statement ("Third annual report of the Poor Law Commissioners 1837 p.34") is a false one. One suspects that the Webbs have perpetuated here an error in Chance Children Under the Poor Law 1897 p.II where a quotation from the Commissioners in favour of district schools is given the reference "Report of the Poor Law Commissioners 31st. December, 1837 p.34". Unfortunately the 1837 should read 1839 for the quotation in Chance comes in fact from p.34 of the Report of the Poor Law Commissioners on the Continuance of the Commission, 31st. December, 1839; p. The Webbs seem to have assumed that Chance's "Report of the Poor Law Commissioners 31st. December, 1837" was in fact the 3rd. Annual report of the Commissioners, and quote it as such, despite the fact that the annual report for that year bears a date in July, not December. The result is that the misprint in Chance caused the Webbs to use a quotation from 1839 to support an opinion imputed to 1837. The Commissioners were, of course, not persuaded of the value of the district school idea till mid 1838, the effective stimulus being the evidence which Kay brought before the Select Committee of the Commons in the spring of that year. The first public acknowledgement of their espousal of the district school cause came in the 4th. Annual Report of the Commissioners, issued in August, 1838, which spoke of "combining the children of several unions into one school."  
(p.60)

- p. 263. The cholera broke out at Drouet's Tooting school and not at Norwood.
- p. 263 n.2. For I844 read I843.
- p. 265 n.2. For Mornington read Monnington.
- p. 266 n. I. The Quatt workhouse school became the school of the South East Shropshire School District in I85I. The Bridgnorth Union was in Shropshire.
- p. 266-7. This paragraph misrepresents Kay-Shuttleworth who thought that workhouse schools would fail despite efficient management. It also misrepresents Browne who objected to pauper institutions being used as training schools for "useful drudges."
- p. 272. The Royal Commission had hard things to say about the workhouse school system only; district and separate schools were, in fact, much praised.
- p. 277. The "ins and outs", the "coming and going stock" as Bentham (Outline of a work...pauper management I798 p.2I) called them, were certainly recognised as a separate problem from the outset. (See I84I Reports pp. 23, 29, 58, I78, 354, 399, 40I, 402.) Tufnell's solution was to retain them in the workhouse whilst the "permanent" children were sent to district schools (I84I Reports and evidence to Select Committee (I853) on Criminal and Destitute Children p.224 Q.2533.) The suggestion of Mrs. Senior, mentioned here by the Webbs, had in fact been made by others before. (See same Select Committee Q. 2589 to 2598. pp.227-8.
- p. 279. The idea of probationary wards appeared in Kay's report of I838. (See I84I Reports p.67.)

- p. 283. Ophthalmia was also mentioned in Kay's 1838 report. 1841 Reports p. 67 .
- p. 283 n.I. "Barrack" in this context was used as early as 1861. (See p. above.)
- p. 286. (note continued from previous page.) For Mouet read Mouat. Mrs. Senior's report appeared in the 3rd. annual report of the Board.
- p.302 n.I. Some early workhouse plans provided for "lying - in wards". See I P.L.C., 1835 appx. 10.
- p. 304 n.I. For Extracts read Selections.

Abbreviations.Official bodies.

- P.L.C.....Poor Law Commissioners. (2 P.L.C. 1836 refers to 2nd. annual report of the Poor Law Commissioners, issued in 1836.)
- P.L.B..... Poor Law Board (23 P.L.B. 1870-I refers to 23rd. annual report of the Poor Law Board, for the year 1870-1871.)
- L.G.B..... Local Government Board. (17 L.G.B. 1887-1888 refers to 17th. annual report of the Local Government Board for the year 1887-1888.)
- Rep.C.C.E... Report of the Committee of Council on Education, followed by the date.
- Mins.C.C.E...Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, followed by the date.
- Mins.C.C.E.. Minutes of the Committee of Council on (P.U.S.) Education on parochial union schools, followed by the date.

Page references are (unless otherwise stated) as in the Commons run of these official papers, but wherever possible appendix numbers have been added so that the corresponding page in alternative printings may be found.

Other Parliamentary Papers.

- D.C.....Departmental Committee.
- R.C.....Royal Commission.
- S.C.....Select Committee. (Commons unless otherwise stated.)
- P.P.....Parliamentary paper. Sessional papers have numbers in ellipse brackets, command papers in square brackets. In every case the session dates are given and where a volume number is also given, this refers to the Commons run. Example."P.P.(352) 1852-3 ix" refers to sessional paper 352 of the session 1852-3 to be found in volume ix of the Commons run volumes for that session. Further details of relevant papers will be found in the bibliography.
- "1841 Reports"refers to the volume of reports issued by the Poor Law Commissioners in 1841 entitled Reports on the training of pauper children.

Other abbreviations.

appx.....appendix

.Journal.W.V.S.....Journal of the Workhouse Visiting  
Society.

MS..... manuscript.

P.L.Confs.....Poor Law Conferences.

Trans. N.A.P.S.S.....Transactions of the National  
Association for the Promotion of  
Social Science.

Notes to Chapter I. (Text p. 3 to p.

1. MS. Tufnell to P.L.C. 14th. July, 1838. MH 32/70
2. 13 P.L.B. 1860-I appx. 20 p.169-171. See also statistical appendix.
3. See statistical appendix p.
4. Browne 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 appx. 20 p.282.
5. S.C. (Lords) 1888 p.702-9; F.D.Hill Children of the State. (2nd.Edn. 1889) p.69 states that not all the five children were taken out each time.
6. MS report by Tufnell. 2nd. Oct. 1836. MH 32/69.
7. P.P. (340) 1849 xlvii; P.P. (170) 1851 xlix;  
P.P. (268) 1862 xlix Part 1.
8. 20 L.G.B. 1890-I p.lix.
9. [Way, Hon. Mrs. E.] Homes for workhouse girls. 1862 p.8.
10. Browne 2 L.G.B. 1872-3 appx. 37 p.110.
11. Arnett 2 P.L.C. 1836 appx. CI (a) p.446.
12. Atcham Union. 6 P.L.C. 1840 appx. BI (Encl.ii) p.70.
13. Report for 1851 [1572] P.P. 1852-3 li p.51.
14. 4 P.L.C. 1838 appx. AI Supp.ii p.87 and 139.
15. 2 P.L.C. 1836 appx. A7 p.56.
16. Foreham and Droxford Unions. S.C. 1837 (Poor) p.8.
17. Dr. Edward Smith P.P. [3660] 1866 xxxv p.51.  
Report on workhouse dietaries.
18. MS letter by A.H.D. (Arthur Downes, M.D. ?) 24th. June, 1890 in collection marked "Food in workhouses." (Ministry of Health Library.)
19. MS letter from Rev. T.H.Elliott 30th. June, 1892, ibid.
20. G.C.T. Bartley. Schools for the people. 1871.
21. S.C. 1862 (Poor) 2nd. Report. p.153.
22. MS minutes of St. Pancras Union 7th. Nov. 1867  
Removal of a child from Central London District School to Royal Ophthalmic Hospital, Moorfields.



- (Text p. 14 to p. 24 )
23. MS letter Walsall and West Bromwich District School to L.G.B. 22nd. Oct. 1879 MH 27/114. A minute on this letter quotes precedents in 1876 and in 1879.
  24. J.H.Stallard Pauperism Charity and Poor Laws. 1865 p.25.
  25. Local Government Chronicle. June 28th. 1879. p.517.
  26. Mrs Emma Sheppard Sunshine in the workhouse. 1858 p.86-7.
  27. Mouat 5 L.G.B. 1875-6 appx. 17 p.102.
  28. "W.H.R." in a letter to Tufnell. / 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 appx. 17 p.256.
  29. 4 L.G.B. 1874-5 appx. 22 p.239.
  30. 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 appx. 21 p.286.
  31. 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 appx. 15 p.230.
  32. 8 P.L.C. 1842 appx B2 p.116-7.
  33. *ibid*; Mouat 5 L.G.B. 1875-6 appx. 17 p.102.
  - 34 Bowyer Rep. C.C.E. 1861-2 p.454.
  - 35 Holgate 4 L.G.B. 1874-5 appx. 22 p.239.
  36. 2 P.L.C. 1836 appx. AI (11) p.86.
  37. Bowyer Rep.C.C.E. 1861-2 p.454.
  38. *ibid*.
  39. 3.L.G.B. 1873-4 appx. 17 p.249.
  - 40 2 L.G.B. 1872-3 appx. 35 p.91.
  41. Departmental Committee 1896 vol.11 p.494.
  42. Bowyer Rep.C.C.E. 1861-2. p.454.
  43. G. R.W. Baxter Book of the Pastiles 1841 p.385.
  44. Jessie Phillips 1843.
  45. Mary Barton 1847.

Notes to Chapter 2.

(Text p.28 to p.39)

1. Kay. S.C. (1838) on Poor Law 14th. Report. Q.4403 p.3-4.
2. 1841 Reports p.157.
3. ibid p.149.
4. S.C. (1838) on Poor Law Q.4403 & 4404.
5. S. & B. Webb English Poor Law History II 1 p.122ff.
6. S.C. (1837) on Poor Law p.106-7.
7. 1841 Reports p.20.
8. Hall 4 P.L.C. 1838 appx. B4 p.161.
9. 4 P.L.C. 1838 appx. AI Supp.11 p.87 and p.139.
10. 1841 Reports p.344-350.
11. 5 P.L.B. 1852 p.9.
12. 7 P.L.B. 1854 p.8-9.
13. Mins.C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1853-4 p.124.
14. Mins.C.C.E. 1855-6 p.94.
15. ibid p.100.
16. Royal Commission on Popular Education (1861) vol.I.p.356.
17. ibid. vol.II p.151.
18. ibid vol.II p.89-90.
19. ibid. vol.I p.356.
20. ibid. vol.I p.364-5.
21. ibid. vol.I p.366.
22. P.P. (496) 1861 lv.
23. 23 P.L.B. 1870-I appx. 24 p.235.
24. S.C.(1864)on Poor Relief p. 30.
25. ibid.
26. ibid.p.32.

(Text p. 39 to p. 45 )

27. ibid. p.35.
28. ibid. p.36.
29. 23 P.L.B. 1870-I appx. 22 p.208-9.
30. M.S. to Chadwick 25th.July, 1879. Chadwick Collection.  
Box marked "Education letters and papers 1860-84."
31. 23 P.L.B. 1870-I appx. 7. p.12.
32. 16 L.G.B. 1886-7 appx. 38 p.93.
33. 19 L.H.B. 1889-90 appx.44 p.III.
34. 12 & 13 Victoria cap.I03 section 14; 14 & 15 Victoria  
cap.I05 section 6.
35. 5 P.L.B. 1852 p.9. and P.P. (132) 1857 Sess.2. xxx11.
36. 5 P.L.B. 1852 p.9.
37. Henley. Poor Law Conferences 1877 p.296.
38. 8 L.G.B. 1878-9 appx.40 p.II5.
39. S.B.B.Webb English Poor Law History II 1 p.269 n.2.
- 40 4 P.L.C. 1838 appx. B4 p.164-5.
- 41 4 P.L.C. 1838 appx. B5 p.168.
42. 1841 Reports p.158.
43. Browne Mins.C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1848-9-50 p.III.
44. See letter of 4th.July, 1848. Mins.C.C.E.(P.U.S.)  
1847-8-9 p.230.
45. Bellairs. Mins.C.C.E. 1855-6 p.242 and 251-3.
46. Mins.C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1856-7 p.185-6.
47. Holgate 6 L.G.B. 1876-7 appx. 31 p.94-5.
48. p.298.
49. Bowyer P.P.(285) 1878 lx p.19.
50. Henley Poor Law Conferences 1877 p.296-7.

(Text p. 45 to p. 51 )

51. 15 L.G.B. 1885-6 p.xxxiv.
  52. Mozley 9 L.G.B. 1879-80 appx. 4I p.210.
  53. 1896 Departmental Committee I p.67.
  54. ibid. p.495.
  55. II L.G.B. 1881-2 appx. 32 p.138.
  56. Poor Law Conferences. 1888 p.68.
  57. 20 L.G.B. 1890-I p.xcii.
  - 58 Circular of 29th. January, 1895. 25 L.G.B. 1895-6 p.110.
  59. 32 L.G.B. 1902-3 appx. G 6 p.430-5.
  60. Royal Commission on Poor Laws 1906-9. Majority Report  
vol.I p.255.
  61. ibid. Minority Report p.122.
  62. P.P.(354) 1878 lxiv p.23.
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### Notes to Chapter 3.

1. S. & B. Webb Statutory Authorities for Special Purposes  
1922. p.122.
2. J.Bentham Outline of a work entitled pauper management  
improved 1798. Collected works (Ed. J.Bowring)  
vol.viii p.369-439.
3. S.C. (1817) Poor Laws.Paper (462) 1817 vi. p.17.
4. Report S.C. (1837-8) p.37.
5. MS. minutes Poor Law Commissioners Nov.4th. 1834  
quoted S. & B. Webb English Poor Law History II 1  
p.134-5.
6. vol. 63.(1836) p.487-537. The author was Chadwick and the  
article appeared (with additions) as a pamphlet in  
1837 An article on the Principles and Progress of the  
Poor Law Amendment Act.

(Text p.52 to p.57 )

7. I84I Reports p.29.
8. ibid. p.II9-I20.
9. See his evidence Q.4385 S.C. (~~I82-~~ I838) Poor. I4th. report.
10. Printed 4 P.L.C. I838 appx. ~~B3~~ B3 and also in I84I Reports p.I9-76.
11. "On the establishment of county or district schools." vol.I. May I838 pp. I-27 & 245-251.
12. See especially I4th. interim report S.C. (I837-8) Poor.
13. Final report p.36.
14. MS. MH 2/5 Rough minute book Poor Law Commissioners I0th. July, I838.
15. I84I Reports p.2.
16. MS. MH 2/5 I4th. July, I838.
17. 4 P.L.C. I838 (eventually dated Aug. I838.) p.60 (octavo edition.)
18. See, for example, Walsham I84I Reports p.4I6; Head ibid. p.376.
19. 40th. interim report p.5. Q.~~212~~ I3Iff. and final report p.37.
20. I84I Reports p.I9.
21. S.C. (I838) Poor I4th. Report. Q.4402.
22. I84I Reports. p.29-3I; also S.C. (I838) Poor I4th Report Q. 4408.
23. I84I Reports p.32.
24. ibid. p.II9-I20. Kay.
25. S.C. (I837-8) on Education of Poorer Classes p.I7. Q. I26.
26. Report...on Continuance of Poor Law Commissioners I839. p.35.
27. MS. MH 33/4 Ind.2I6I3 Kay 30th. Aug. I838.

(Text p.57 to p.64 )

28. 1841 Reports. p.II8 Kay.
29. dated 1st. May and printed 5 P.L.C. 1839 p.I45-I60  
and in 1841 Reports p.I02-I26.
- 30 Report dated 1st. Dec. 1840. 1841 Reports p.I27-200.
31. 1841 Reports. p.I29.
32. ibid. p.I28.
- 33.MS. MH 33/4 Ind. 2I6I3 Kay 10th. June, 1839.
34. ibid. 17th. July, 1839 and 18th. Oct. 1839.
- 35, ibid. Reference to draft letter to Treasury. 18th. Oct.  
1839.
36. S.& B.Webb English Poor Law History II 1 p.261.
37. J.P.Kay-Shuttleworth Four Periods 1862 p.289.
38. 1841 Reports p.I31.
39. MS. MH 19/I6 Oct. 24th. 1867.
40. 4 P.L.C. 1838 p.60.
41. Royal Commission on Popular Education, 1861. vol.vi p.373  
Q. 3017.
42. For the acts of 1842 (5 & 6 Victoria cap. 57) and 1844  
(7 & 8 Victoria cap. 101) see Arvel B. Erickson The  
Public Career of Sir James Graham 1952 p.I80-I83.  
Footnote 138 on p.I83 of this work misprints the  
reference to the 1844 act.
43. II P.L.C. 1845 p.I2.
44. II & I2 Victoria cap. 82.
45. April 16th. 1849 p.45. See also January 4th. 1849 p.5;  
January 5th. p.4; January 8th. p.5; January 9th;  
January 10th. p.3; April 14th. p.7; and April 16th.p.7.
46. I2 & I3 Victoria cap. 13.
47. MS draft letters 12th. and 17th. Jan. 1849. MS. "Scheme  
for School Districts which may be formed." dated 23rd.  
April 1849. MH 27/II2.

- (Text p.<sup>64</sup> to p.<sup>67</sup> )
48. Departmental Committee 1896 vol.I p.4.
  49. 2 P.L.B. 1849 p.I4.
  50. for both these dates see Departmental Committee 1896 vol.I p.4.
  51. 2 P.L.B. 1849 p.I5.
  52. for the dates of these foundations see 2 P.L.B. 1849 p.I6.
  53. The figures are from 18 P.L.B. 1855-6 appx. 43 and 19 P.L.B. 1866-7 appx. 19 p.I50.
  54. P.P.(210) 1854 and 3 P.L.B. 1850 p.8.
  55. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1856-7 p.35.
  56. P.P.(395) 1857- 8.
  57. Monnington and Lampard Our London Poor Law Schools. 1898 p.I.
  58. Mins.C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1852-3 p.54.
  59. II P.L.B. 1858-9 p.I5; 10 P.L.B. 1857-8 p.I5.
  60. P.P.(210) 1854.
  61. 2 P.L.B. 1849 p.I6.
  62. 8 P.L.B. 1855 p.II and appx. 48 p.I77.
  63. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1857-8 p.66.
  64. 2 P.L.B. 1849 p.I6; 2 L.G.B. 1872-3 appx. 37 p.I07.
  65. See his evidence to S.C. (1853) Criminal and Destitute Children p.264-272. For a description of the school.
  66. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1859-60 p.558.
  67. S.C. (1862) Poor 2nd. Report p.I22 and p.I78.
  68. ibid. p.I78
  69. Mins.C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1856-7 p.I83.
  70. S.C. (1861) Poor p.59.
  71. I3 & I4 Victoria cap.II.

(Text p.70 to p.76 )

72. I3 & I4 Victoria cap.I0I.
- 73 I4 & I5 Victoria cap.I05. Poor Law Amendment Act, I85I.
74. S.C. (I852-3) Criminal and Destitute Children.  
Q.2473 p.220 and Q. 25II p.222.
75. ibid. final report(I853) p.iv Recommendation No.22.
76. Minute of I4th. Feb., I854;P.P.(76) I854.
77. Letter 5th. Feb. I848. Mins.C.C.E. I847-8 p.viff.
78. See MS. reports of Symons and Browne MH I9/I4 under  
date 3Ist. March, I848.
79. Mins.C.C.E.(P.U.S.) I848-9-50 p.II; I847-8-9 p.42,  
p.I6I, p.84-9I, and p.252-28I.
80. Report C.C.E. I858 p.485.
- 8I. Report C.C.E. I859-60 p.560.
82. Mins.C.C.E.(P.U.S.) I853-4 p.III.
83. S.C. (I86I) Poor p.II9.
84. ibid. p.I22.
85. Report C.C.E. I860-I p.5I4.
86. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) I853-4 p.I33.
87. 8 P.L.B. I855 appx. 2I p.58.
88. Quoted in Poor Law Commissioners' circular letter  
II P.L.C. I845 appx. A8 p.83.
89. Mins.C.C.E.(P.U.S.) I852-3 p.90.
90. Minutes 3Ist. Dec. I855 in Mins.C.C.E.(P.U.S.) I855-6  
p.5.
- 9I. Children under the Poor Law p.I2.
92. S.C. (I853) Criminal and Destitute Children. Q.2558  
p.225.
93. S.C. (I86I) Poor. 2nd. Report p.90.
94. Rev. C.Richson Pauper education, its provisions and  
defects. 2nd. Edn. I850.



(Text p.77 to p.82 )

95. Minute dated Oct. 15th. [1858] by W.G.L. [umley]  
MS. MH 19/16 with letter from Royal Commission  
dated 11th. Oct. 1858. "Schools" after "W.H."  
(i.e. "workhouse") was deleted.
96. See, for example, the quotations from Mr. Fraser and  
Mr. Hedley in the Report of the Royal Commission  
p.365.
97. S.C.(1862) Poor. 3rd. Report p.38.
98. The recommendations appear in the Report of the Royal  
Commission vol.I p.384-5.
99. P.P. (490) 1861 lv.
100. P.P.(496) 1861 lv.
101. S.C. (1862) Poor 3rd. Report, p.14-5.
102. ibid. p.24.
103. 23 P.L.B. 1870-I appx. 24 p.235.
104. 1 L.G.B. 1871-2 appx. 30 p.218.
105. Bowyer 23 P.L.B. 1870-I appx. 23 p.225.
106. The Board's letter is paraphrased in Hawley's report of  
25th. Feb. 1862. P.P.(510) 1862 xlix Part I, p.33.
107. P.P.(510) 1862 xlix Part I.
108. ibid. p.33.
109. 8 P.L.B. 1855 appx. 21 p. 58.
110. S.C. (1862) Poor 2nd. Report p.184ff.
111. P.P.(510) 1862 xlix Part I p.52ff.

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Notes on Chapter 4.

1. Poor Law Amendment Act 1867. 30 & 31 Victoria cap. 106.
2. Minute of 21st. March 1863. Report C.C.E. 1862-3 p.xlvii.
3. 19 P.L.B. 1866-7 p.20,

(Text p.85 to p.90 )

4. 21 P.L.B. 1868-9 appx. A2 p.34.
5. Formed 7th. Feb., 1868. Departmental Committee 1896  
vol. I. p.4.
6. 20 P.L.B. 1867-8 p.20-I.
7. 23 P.L.B. 1870-I p.xxviii.
8. 2 L.G.B. 1872-3 p.82. For this school see also 22 P.L.B.  
1869-70 p.xli and 2 L.G.B. 1872-3 p.xxvii.
9. For this date see dissolution order dated 31st. Dec.  
1896. MH 27/143.
10. 21 P.L.B. 1868-9 appx. 21 p.102, and 103. 20 P.L.B.  
1867-8 p.31.
11. 21 P.L.B. 1868-9 p.25.
12. 22 P.L.B. 1869-70 appx. 11 p.123.
13. 21 P.L.B. 1868-9 appx. 21<sup>?</sup> p.102-3.
14. 6 L.G.B. 1876-7 p.67.
15. 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 p.272.
- 16 ibid.
17. MS. letter school to L.G.B. 3rd. Jan. 1879 MH 27/114.
18. MS. report by F. Longe dated 17th. Dec. 1879 MH 27/114.
19. Order of 22nd. March 1873. MH27/113.
20. MS. letter from school to L.G.B. 30th March, 1875.  
MH 27/113.
21. MS. from school to L.G.B. 29th. Sept. 1876 MH 27/113
22. MS. letters to L.G.B. 17th. Jan. and 22nd. March, 1877  
MH 27/114.
23. Report by Bowyer for 1877. P.P. (285) 1878 lx.
24. Bowyer. 9 L.G.B. 1879-80 appx. 40 p.204.
25. Order of Board dated 5th. Sept, 1879 MH 27<sup>27</sup>/143
26. Bowyer 9 L.G.B. 1879-80 appx. 40 p.205.

(Text p.90 to p.94 )

27. MS. report 20th. Nov. 1878; Minute dated 11 Feb. 1879 on draft letter of L.G.B. to school dated 10th. Feb. 1879. MH 27/II4.
28. MS. memorial dated 10th. July, 1878. MH 27/II4.
29. MS. letter Walsall Union to L.G.B. 26th. July, 1878  
MH 27/II4.
30. Copy of resolution of 21st. March, 1879 of Walsall guardians enclosed with MS. letter of Miss Watson to L.G.B. 27th. May, 1879. MH 27/II4.
31. MS. copy of report to managers of the school by Mr. W.Showell, chairman. dated June 23rd. 1879.  
Enclosed with MS report by Longe 26th. June, 1879.  
MH 27/II4.
32. G.C.T.Bartley (Journal of the Society of Arts 1869 p.190) computed that the Central London school had cost £84,000, the South Metropolitan £50,600 and the North Surrey £48,614.
33. 9 L.G.B. 1879-80 p.xxiv.
34. 10 L.G.B. 1880-1 p.xxxi.
35. 12 L.G.B. 1882-3 p.xxxii.
36. 19 L.G.B. 1889-90 p.lxxxii and W.Monnington and F. Lampard Our London Poor Law Schools 1898 p.7.
37. Report of the managers of the North Surrey District School for the year ending Lady Day 1881. p.31 & 32
38. ibid. p.10.
39. Circular letter 7th. Feb. 1872; 2 L.G.B. 1872-3 appx.30 p.54.
40. 2 L.G.B. 1872-3 p.xxx-xxxii.
41. For the Bow road experiemnt:- a. Report (16th. Feb. 1874) by Dr. J.H.Bridges on ophthalmia in metropolitan pauper schools. 3 L.G.B. 1873-4. appx.15 p.214.  
b. Report (26th. Dec. 1874 by E. Nettleship on ophthalmia in metropolitan pa per schools. 4 L.G.B. 1874-5 appx. 13 p.86.

(Text p.95 to p.100 )

42. 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 p.xxix.
43. ibid.
44. 2 L.G.B. 1872-3 p.xxxi.
45. Letters dated 3rd. Dec. 1873. 3 L.G.B. 1873-4. appx.I  
p.2 and appx. 2 p.2-3.
46. 2 L.G.B. 1872-3. appx. 34 p.85.
47. 2 L.G.B. 1872-3 appx. 30 p.54.
48. 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 appx. 15 p.210.
49. / 3. L.G.B. 1873-4 appx. 16 p.235.
- 50 19 L.G.B. 1889-90 p.lix. The "energetic measures"  
consisted of building iron huts in the grounds.  
Metropolitan May 18th. 1889. p.320.
51. 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 appx. 19 p. 272 and 279.
52. 19 P.L.B. 1866-7 appx. 19 p.150.
53. 23 P.L.B. 1870 -I p.xxvii - xxviii.
54. Tufnell 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 appx. 17 p.246.
- 55 5 L.G.B. 1875-6 p.xxv.
56. 6 L.G.B. 1876-7 pxxx.
57. 22 L.G.B. 1892-3 p.~~lxxxii~~ lxxxii. and Holgate p.153.
58. See "From the slums to the sea" an illustrated article  
in London Sept. 7th. 1893. vol,I No.32. p.504-5.
59. Holgate II L.G.B. 1881-2 appx. 31 p.133.
60. Holgate 18 L.G.B. 1888-9 p.153.
61. Order 2nd. March 1877 MH 27/143.
62. Hackney left the Forest Gate District on 12th.March  
1877. See order of L.G.B. dissolving the district  
31st. Dec. 1896. MH 27/143.
63. 1 L.G.B. 1871-2 appx. 30 p.217.
64. 5 L.G.B. 1875-6 p.100.

(Text p.100 to p.112)

65. P.P.(/ 313) 1884-5 lxvii. p.3.
66. P.P. (354) 1878 lxiv p.23.
67. 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 appx. 22 p.3II-04.
68. ibid. p.322-3.
69. ~~77A~~ Tom Taylor, quoted by Janet Ross Early Days Recalled 1891. p.49.
70. 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 appx.22. p.324.
71. ibid. p.326.
72. ibid. p.327.
73. ibid. p.332.
74. ibid. p.345
75. ibid p 325.
76. ibid. p.320.
77. MS. letter to Miss Hubbard. Hubbard Collection in Women's Service Library. Defective and undated but clearly written between Feb. and Nov. 1874.
78. P.P. (10) 1875 lxiii.
79. P.P. (155) 1875 lxiii.
80. ~~11~~ L.G.B. 1881-2 p.xxxi.
81. 13 L.G.B. 1883-4 p.xxxvii.
82. ibid.
83. ~~78~~ 13 L.G.B. 1883-4 p.xxxvi -xxxvii.
84. 12 L.G.B. 1882-3. p.xxxiii and 15 L.G.B. 1885-6 p. xxx.
85. 15 L.G.B. 1885-6 p.xxx.
86. S.C. (Lords.) Poor 1888 p.viii.
87. ibid. p.ix.
88. ibid.
89. For the Forest Gate fire see 19 L.G.B. 1889-90 p.lxxxv. and Report of Departmental Committee 1896 vol.I p.176.

(Text p.110 to p.121 )

90. Monnington and Lampard Our London Poor Law Schools  
1898 p.39. Departmental Committee 1896 vol. I. p.177.
91. Departmental Committee 1896 vol.I. p.178. H. Barnett:  
"The home or the barrack for the children of the state?"  
Contemporary Review lxxvi 1894 p.253.
92. For Mundella's part in the committee see W.H.G. Armytage  
A.J.Mundella 1825-1897. 1951. p.308-310.
93. The Departmental Committee 1896 vol.I p.10.
94. ibid. p.12.
95. ibid. p.169
96. ibid. p.173
97. First Annual Report of the State Children's Association,  
1897, p.2.
98. Order of 31st. Dec. 1896. MH 27/143.
99. Royal Commission on Poor Laws 1909. Majority Report p.235.

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Notes to Chapter 5.

1. Royal Commission on Popular Education 1858-60 vol.I p.373.
2. 2 George III cap. 22 and 7 George III cap.39.
3. See Senior's evidence to S.C. (1862) Poor, 3rd. Report  
p.74.
4. Wodehouse appx. 29 p.154 20 P.L.B. 1867-8.
5. Royal Commission on Popular Education. vol.I p.373.
6. 1841 Reports pp.133,146,149.
7. ibid. p.133.
8. 7 P.L.C. 1841 p.140 appx. B3.
9. Mins. C.C.E. 1842-3 p.241.
10. Mins. C.C.E. 1845 p.397-404.

(Text p./22 to p./25)

- II. Mins.C.C.E. 1845 p.397.
- I2. 2I P.L.B. 1868-9 appx. 2I. p.I02.
- I3. S. and B. Webb English Poor Law Policy 1910 p.I08 n.3  
quoting MS minutes of Manchester guardians 25th. June,  
1846.
- I4. Mins.C.C.E. 1845 p.404.
- I5. Mins.C.C.E. 1846 p.55I.
- I6. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1847-8-9 p.I73.
- I7. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1852-3 p.I39-I40.
- I8. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1853-4 p.II4.
- I9. Mins.C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1855-6 p.I06.
20. Mins.C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1850-I-2 p.242.
- 2I. 6 L.G.B. 1876-7 appx. 26 p.48.
22. Mins.C.C.E. 1845 p.390.
23. Mins.C.C.E. 1842-3 p.252-3.
24. Mins. C.C.E. 1845 p.390,392,394.
25. Mins. C.C.E. 1846 p.549-55I.
26. Mins.C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1847-8-9 p.I74.
27. S.C. (1853) Criminal and destitute children. Q.2439  
and 2524, pp.2I7 and 224.
28. Mins.C.C.E. 1845 p.390 and 394.
29. Mins.C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1847-8-9 p.I74.
30. ibid. p.I75.
- 3I. Mins. C.C.E. 1845 pp.390,394.
- |32. Mins.C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1855-6 p.I08.
33. ibid. p.II0
34. S.C. (186I) Poor. 4th. Report p.47.
35. Mins.C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1847-8-9 p.I75.
36. Report C.C.E. 1858 p.486.

- (Text p.125 to p.130 )
37. Report C.C.E. 1860-I p.491 and 493.
  38. I L.G.B. 1871-2 p.233.
  39. For the Norwich system see Mins.C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1855-6 p.64-66; 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 appx. 19 p.274; 8 L.G.B. 1878-9 appx. 40 p.117-8; Mrs. Sarah Austin Two letters on girls' schools and on the training of working women. 1857.
  40. II P.L.B. 1858-9 p.14, and 13 P.L.B. 1860-I p.26.
  41. Royal Commission on Popular Education 1858-60 vol.I p.373.
  42. ibid. p.384.
  43. S.C. (1864) Poor. p.36.
  44. 21 P.L.B. 1868-9 appx. 21 p.102.
  45. I L.G.B. 1871-2 appx. 31 p.233.
  46. 20 L.G.B. 1890-I appx. 62 p.259.
  47. 20 P.L.B. 1867-8 appx. 29 p.152.
  48. 13 L.G.B. 1883-4 p.122-3.
  49. II P.L.B. 1858-9 p.15.
  50. 20 P.L.B. 1867-8 appx. 29 p.153.
  51. II P.L.B. 1858-9 p.15 and 20 P.L.B. 1867-8 appx. 29 p.153.
  52. 13 L.G.B. 1883-4 p.123.
  53. 20 P.L.B. 1867-8 appx. 29 p.153. and 21 P.L.B. 1868-9 appx. 21 p.102.
  54. II P.L.B. 1858-9 p.15.
  55. 20 P.L.B. 1867-8 appx. 27 p.144.
  56. ibid. p.135-7.
  57. W. Holgate 6 L.G.B. 1876-7 appx. 31 p.90.
  58. P.P.(18) 1867 lx p.15.
  59. I.L.G.B. 1871-2 appx. 73 p.462ff.
  60. Departmental Committee 1896 vol.I.
  61. Report by F.J.Mouat on...cost of maintaining children in separate and district schools, 1869-73. p.5.



(Text p./30 to p./38 )

62. P.P. (384) 1881 p lxxix p.2.
  63. 21 P.L.B. 1868-9 appx. 21 p.102.
  64. ibid. and 20 P.L.B, 1867-8 appx. 29 p.153.
  65. 20 L.G.B. 1890-1 p. xc.
  66. Departmental Committee 1896 vol.I p.5.
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Notes to Chapter 6.

1. Lumley to S.C. (1861) Poor Relief p.65.
2. 4 & 5 William IV cap. 76 and 7 & 8 Victoria cap. 101.
3. 17 & 18 Victoria cap. 86.
4. 20 & 21 Victoria cap. 48.
5. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1857-8 p.5.
6. The legal point is explained in Royal Commission on Popular Education vol.I. p.379.
7. Resolutions and Heads of Report proposed by Mr. Senior, 1860 p.86.
8. For the Brockham School see works under Way, E. in bibliography and also her evidence to S.C. (1861) Poor Relief 4th. Report p.38-43.
9. G.C.T.Bartley Schools for the People 1871 p.246.
10. 24 & 25 Victoria cap. 113.
11. Homes for Workhouse Girls "E.W." 1862 p.3.
12. Tufnell in evidence to:-
  - i. S.C. (1861) Poor 4th. Report p.36.
  - ii. S.C.(1861) Education of Destitute and Neglected Children p.73.
13. 29 & 30 Victoria cap. 118.
14. Royal Commission on Popular Education vol.I p.379.
15. Rep.C.C.E. 1861-2 p.449.
16. 25 & 26 Victoria cap. 43.

(Text p.139 to p.146)

17. See Workhouse Papers 1860 passim.
18. 15 P.L.B. 1862-3 p.21 and appx. 42 p.324.
19. MS. minutes Kensington Board of Guardians 21 st. Jan.,  
1875.
20. ibid. 17th. June, 1875.
21. MS. minutes St. Pancras Guardians 19th. Sept., 10th.  
Oct. and 17th. Nov. 1867.
22. L.Twining Recollections of Life and Work 1893 p.180.
23. 17 P.L.B. 1864-5 appx. 47 p.325.
24. P.P. (520) 1866 1xf.
25. 29 & 30 Victoria cap. 113.
26. Westminster Diocesan Education Fund Second Year's  
Report 1867-8 1868. p.35.
27. 31 & 32 Victoria cap. 122.
28. P.P. (523) 1867 1x.
29. MS. P.L.B. to Tufnell 1st. April 1869 MH 32/108/Tufnell.
30. P.P. (/ (384) 1881 lxxix.
31. See Courtenay Boyle 8 L.G.B. 1878-9 appx. 40 p.119.
32. ibid.
33. 22 L.G.B. 1892-3 appx. 43 p.104.
34. 45 & 46 Victoria cap. 58.
35. For this legal point and the 1882 act see letter of  
L.G.B. appx. 20 of 12 L.G.B. 1882-3 p.47-8.
36. 15 L.G.B. 1885-6 appx. 54 p.177.
37. Departmental Committee 1896 vol.1 p.112.
38. 12 L.G.B. 1882-3 p.xxxv.
39. Departmental Committee 1896 vol.1 p.110.
40. P.P.(48) 1878 1x.
41. 31 & 32 Victoria cap. 122
42. 8 L.G.B. 1878-9 appx. 42 p.152.

(Text p.146 to p.155 )

- 43. 9 L.G.B. 1879-80 p.xxxvi.
- 44. 8 L.G.B. 1878-9 appx. 42 p.152.
- 45. 22 L.G.B. 1892-3 appx. 43 p. 104.
- 46. 23 L.G.B. 1893-4 appx. 45 p.146.
- 47. See Report upon the work of Poor Law Schools and in  
23 schools certified under Poor Law (Certified Schools  
Act, 1862. 1908.
- 48. Royal Commission on Poor Laws 1909 Minority Report p.123r
- 49. S.C. (Lords) Poor 1888 p.56.
- 50. Departmental Committee 1896 vol.I p.109-110.
- 51. ibid. p.112-7.
- 52. S.& B. Webb English Poor Law History II 1 p.268.

Notes to Chapter 7.

- I. Muggeridge 2 P.L.C. 1836 appx. b 20 p.426.
- 2. Redford Labour Migration in England 1800-1850 p.95.
- 3. I P.L.C. 1835 appx. b II p.190.
- 4. 2 P.L.C. 1836 appx. b 2 p.202 Tufnell.
- 5. I P.L.C. 1835 appx. B II p. 190
- 6. 2 P.L.C. 1836 appx. A 2 p.44.
- 7. 2 P.L.C. 1836 appx. B 2I p.437-8.
- 8. 2 P.L.C. 1836 appx. B 20 p.414;
- 9. Official Circular 10 (n.s.) 1st. Oct., 1847. P.L.C. to  
Towcester Union 16th. March, 1848.
- 10. These figures are extracted from the annual reports  
of the P.L.C. and P.L.B.
- 11. Land Commissioners to the Poor Law Board, 1st. Aug. 1848  
appx. 16 of I.P.L.B. 1848 p.33-4.

(Text p.155 to p.160)

12. 12 & 13 Victoria cap. 103 section 20.
13. 5 P.L.B. 1852 appx. 25 p.138
14. 4 P.L.B. 1851 appx. 5 p. 32 and 35.
15. Tufnell: Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1852-3 p.60-62.
16. 7 P.L.B. 1854 p.8.
17. 6 P.L.B. 1853 appx. 35 p.179-81.
18. 12 P.L.B. 1859-60 p.19.
19. P.P. (342) 1861. 1v.
20. 5 P.L.B. 1852 p.7.
21. 4 P.L.B. 1851 p.6.
22. 22 P.L.B. 1869-70 p.lvi to lviii.
23. 22 P.L.B. 1869-70 p.lvi.
24. Pratt E.A. Pioneer Women, 1897 p.36-7.
25. 1 L.G.B. 1871-2 appx. 32 p.236.
26. See letter by Miss Rye The Hour 5th. May 1875 p.6  
col.3.
27. Rye, M.S. Synopsis of a report on the emigration of  
pauper and other children from Great Britain to  
Canada. 1876.
28. P.P. (9) 1875. also printed as a pamphlet.
29. 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 appx. 20 p.282.
30. 8 L.G.B. 1878-9 appx. 42 p.152-3.
31. 1 L.G.B. 1871-2 appx. 31 p.225.
32. P.P. (9) 1875; (392) & (263) 1877; also op.cit in note  
27.
33. 6 L.G.B. 1876-7 p.xxix
34. P.P. (392) & (263) 1877.
35. 13 L.G.B. 1883-4 appx. A 4 p.32-3.
36. 16 L.G.B. 1886-7 p.1111.
37. Johnson, S.C. A history of emigration, 1913 p.281.

(Text p./6/ to p./69 )

38. Mozley 18 L.G.B. 1888-9 p.146.
39. 18 L.G.B. 1888-9 p.xcvii.
40. S.C. (Lords) Poor 1888 p.88.
41. ibid.
42. Departmental Committee 1896 p.137.
43. Rev. James Edwards Love to the brethren. Newcastle (1869?)
44. 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 p.xxxii and annual reports of L.G.B.  
1887to 1896.
45. Eton Union Home training for pauper children, Slough 1866  
Grant, Col. C.W. Advantages of the boarding out  
system, 1869.
46. See printed letter from Miss Kreusser, Library of Political  
and Economic Science HV 178.
47. Henley's report P.P. (176) 1870 lviii.
48. P.P.(176) 1868-9 liii. and 21 P.L.B. 1868-9 p.25.
49. 22 P.L.B. 1869-70 p.liii.
50. 22 P.L.B. 1869-70 p.6-8.
51. 23 P.L.B. 1870-I appx. 8 p.19.
52. The figures have been extracted from the annual reports  
of the L.G.B.
53. S.C. (Lords) Poor 1888 p.434.
54. Resolutions and heads of report proposed by Mr. Senior  
1860 p.86.
55. See for example remarks by Holgate appx. 22,5 L.G.B.  
1875-6 p.174.
56. 4 L.G.B. 1874-5 appx. 15 p.172.
57. London Dec. 28th. 1893 p.768.
58. Clutterbuck. 4 L.G.B. 1874-5 appx. 21 p.213.
59. Tufnell 2 L.G.B. 1872-3 appx. 34 p.83.
60. 9 L.G.B. 1879-80 appx. 41 p.207.
61. 2 L.G.B. 1872-3 appx. 35 p.95.
62. Poor Law Confs. 1878 Davey to the N.W. Conference p.235

(Text p.170 to p.174)

63. Fletcher, J. "Statistics of the farm school system on the continent." Journal of the Statistical Society of London, vol xv 1852 p.I-49. Reprinted as a pamphlet in 1878.
64. Doyle Proposed district school on the system of Mettray 1873.
65. 4 L.G.B. 1874-5 appx. 15 p.172.
66. Doyle Report on the Mettray system and the children boarded out in the Swansea Union, 1875.
67. 8 L.G.B. 1878-9 p.lxiv and 9 L.G.B. 1879-80 p.lvi.ii.
68. 8 L.G.B. 1878-9 p.111.
69. Poor Law Confs. 1877 p.298. See also P.P.(285) 1878lx,
70. Report of the schools visiting committee 1876.
71. P.P.(285) 1878 lx.
72. Monnington and Lampard Our London poor law schools, 1898 p. 15.
73. See illustrations in Sixth Report 1899.
74. 10 L.G.B. 1880-I appx. 37 p.193.
75. op. cit in note72. p.17.
76. Local Government Chronicle Aug. 23rd. 1879. p.671.
77. 10 L.G.B. 1880-I appx. 37 p.193.
78. Davies II L.G.B. 1881-2 appx. 32 p.140.
79. Times, 24th. Oct. 1894. p.3. col.d.
80. P.P.(384) 1881 lxxix p.2.
81. Departmental Committee 1896 vol. I p.8.
82. Royal Commission on Poor Laws 1909 p.183.
83. Local Government Chronicle April 5th. 1879 p.266.
84. II L.G.B. 1881-2 p.xliv.
85. S.C. (Lords) 1888 Poor p.434.
86. ibid. p.9.

87. Departmental Committee 1896 vol.I. p.107.

88. (Cd 3899) 1908 xcii.

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Notes to Chapter 8.

1. 23 P.L.B. 1870-I appx. 36 p.356.

2. ibid.

3. 25 L.G.B. 1895-6 appx. E p.399.

4. Report on Continuance of P.L.C. 1839 appx. A I.

5. II P.L.U. 1845 appx. A I and p.29-39.

6. 5 P.L.B. 1852 appces. I-4 p.17-30.

7. See P.L.B. memoranda appx. 4 22 P.L.B. 1869-70.

8. I L.G.B. 1871-2 appx. 20 p.64-5.

9. 7 L.G.B. 1877-8 appx, 34 p.217-226.

10. 2 P.L.C. 1836 appx. A I2 p.87.

11. 2 P.L.C. 1836 appx. B I3 p.366.

12. S & B Webb English Poor Law History II 1 p.253.

13. S.C. (Lords) 1888 Poor p.312.

14. L.Twining S.C.(Lords) 1888 Poor p.342.

15. ibid. p.610.

16. 30 & 31 Victoria cap.6.

17. L.Twining S.C.(Lords) 1888 Poor p.614.

18 ibid. p.641.

19. ibid. p.366.

20. Longley 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 appx. I4 p.179.

21. 2 P.L.C. 1836 appx. B I3 p.367.

(Text p./85 to p./7/ )

22. 4 P.L.C. 1838 p.21-2.
23. 2 P.L.C. 1836 appx. A I p.43-4.
24. Report on Continuance of Poor Law Commission 1839 p.38.
25. ibid.
26. As in Warminster Union and Colne Union. 2 P.L.C. 1836  
appx. B # 7 p.299 & 300.
27. 2 P.L.C. 1836 appx. B 7 p.299.
28. S.C. (1838) Poor, Report p. 31.
29. S.C. (1838) Q. 4396 & 4818-4821.
30. 2 P.L.C. 1836 appx. B 2 p.220.
31. See letter to Ticehurst Union 15th. Nov. 1836. S.C. (183'  
Poor appx. to 13th. Report p.38.
32. 6 P.L.C. 1840 appx. B 5 p.86.
33. S.C. (Lords) 1888 p.342.
34. 2 P.L.C. 1836 appx. B 3 p.221.
35. 2 P.L.C. 1836 appx. B 3 p.221.
36. 2 P.L.C. 1836 p.28.
37. 2 P.L.C. 1836 appx. B 4 p.246.
38. P.P. (365) 1854
39. P.P. (437) 1856
40. P.P. (232) 1860
41. P.P.(33) 1870.
42. Circular letter 9th. Dec. 1868
43. 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 appx. 10 p.80 and p.88.
44. S.C. (1837) Poor 22nd. Report p.24 Q. 22058 ff.
45. Official Circular Nos. 18 & 19 (n.s.) Sept. to Oct.  
1848 p.276.
46. MS. P.L.B. to C.C.E. 3rd. Feb. 1849 MH 12/9957.
47. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1856-7 p.188.



(Text p. 191 to p. 191)

48. ibid. 1855-6 p.139-140.
49. Rep.C.C.E. 1860 p.517.
- 50 Lumley S.C. (1861) Poor p.65.
51. Official Circular 31st. Jan. 1844 p.178-9. Commissioners' letter dated 23rd. Dec., 1843.
52. Official Circular No. 9 (n.s.) 1st. Sept. 1847 p.131. Commissioners to overseer of Thurgoland, dated 3rd. Feb. 1847.
53. S.&B.Webb English Poor Law ~~mix~~ Policy, 1910 p.104.
54. Lumley S.C. (1861) Poor 4th. Report p.61.
55. Public Education as affected by the Minutes of the Committee of the Privy Council 1846-52. 1853 p.276.
56. The condition and education of poor children in English and German towns. 1853 p.6w.
57. Lumley S.C. (1861) Poor 4th. Report p.61.
58. Mackay History of the English Poor Law. volIII p.428.
59. Lumley S.C. (1861) Poor 4th. Report p.61.
60. 8 P.L.B. 1855 p.11-12.
61. P.P.(437) 1856. The return is incomplete, 87 unions being omitted. It seems probable that the unions failing to make a return were not, in fact, educating any children under the act.  
(313)
62. P.P.(313) 1857 (Session 2)
63. Royal Commission on Popular Education 1861 vol.vi p.375, p.360, p.405 respectively.
64. ibid. vol I. p.382 and 384.
65. Report S.C. (1864) Poor p.36.
66. ibid p.35.
67. S.C. (1862) Poor 2nd. Report p.104.
68. P.P. (33) 1870.
69. 21 P.L.B. 1868-9 appx. B 20 p.96.
70. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1848-9-50 p.124-5.

(Text p.196 to p.202 )

71. Mins.C.C.E. 1855-6 p.100.
72. See for example Wodehouse I L.G.B. 1871-2 appx. 29  
p.94.
73. 23 P.L.B. 1870-1 appx. 12 p.34.
74. S.& B. Webb English Poor Law History. II i p.298-9  
quoting Stallard London Pauperism, 1867 p.101,  
that there was not "a single instance in which a  
pauper child in the receipt of outdoor relief  
had been apprenticed to a trade." Stallard's  
claim is somewhat rash. c.f. 12 P.L.B. 1859-60  
p.14 quoted at the head of this chapter.
75. Circular letter dated 22nd. July, 1872 appx. II  
2 L.G.B. 1872-3 p.17-18.
76. See 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 p.xxxv to xxxvi and appx. 4.  
p.4-6.
77. Calculation made from statistics in P.P.(313) 1857  
(Session 2), and in 25 L.G.B. 1895-6 appx. 140  
p.528-9.
78. 25 L.G.B. 1895-6 appx. 140 p.528-9.
79. 21 L.G.B. 1891-2 p.xcv.
80. 25 L.G.B. 1895-6 appx. 140 p.528-9.
81. P.P. (232) 1860 and (33) 1870.

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Notes to Chapter 9.

1. S.C. (1838) Poor Q. 13241.
2. MS. MH 2/5 3rd. July, 1838.
3. 1841 Reports pp. 346, 347, 348, and 349.
4. 7 P.L.C. 1841 p.18
5. Official Circular 6th. Feb. 1841 p.158.
6. ibid.
7. Regulation xxx I P.L.C. 1835 appx. A 9.

(Text p.202 to p.205)

8. 2 P.L.C. 1836 appx. B 8 p.307.
9. Sketches by Boz chapter I. p.21.
10. 1 P.L.C. 1835 appx. A 9. Regulation xi.
11. 1841 Reports p. 396.
12. 9 P.L.C. 1843 appx. A 2 (vii) p.126.
13. 12 P.L.C. 1846 p.8.
14. Peel to Graham 18th. Jan. 1842. C.S.Parker (Ed.)  
Sir Robert Peel 1899 vol.II p.533.
15. See memorandum by Prince Albert, 25th. Dec. 1845, on  
Peel's "immense scheme". Letters of Queen Victoria  
1908 (1st. Series.) vol. 11. pp.66-7.
16. Hansard. 3rd. Series vol. lxxxvii col. 1104 ff.  
Commons 13th. July, 1846.
17. Mins. C.C.E. 1846 p.25.
18. Mins. C.C.E. 1846 pp.25-30.
19. 1 P.L.B. 1848 appx. A 4. p.18.
20. Minute of 18th.. Dec. 1847. Mins. C.C.E. 1847-8. p.v
21. 1 P.L.B. 1848 appx. A 4. pp.17-19.
22. 2 P.L.B. 1849 p.12.
23. P.P.(467) 1850 1. The decision was made in MS. P.L.B.  
to C.C.E. 29th. Aug. 1848. MH 19/14.
24. Treasury memo. 16th. Dec. 1847; P.L.B. to Treasury  
8th. Jan. 1848. MH 19/14.
25. Royal Commission on Education 1861 vol.vi p.397.
26. MS. P.L.B. to C.C.E. 10th. Dec. 1849. MH 19/14.
27. 3 P.L.B. 1850 appx. 5. pp.64-6.
28. Circular of 12th. July, 1850. MH 19/14.
29. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) p.112. Ruddock.
30. Ruddock. ibid. pp.111-112.

(Text p.205 to p.206)

31. MS. C.C.E. to P.L.B. 28th. Feb. 1851 MH/19/15 together with minute thereon.
32. MS. MH/19/15 under dates 15th. June and 28th. June, 1852.
33. MS. C.C.E. to P.L.B. 7th. Aug. 1852 MH/19/15.
34. Circular letter 1st. Dec. 1852 5 P.L.B. 1852 appx. 6. p.34.
35. Circular letter 3rd. June, 1856. 9 P.L.B. (1852) appx. 4 p.18. The correspondence leading up to it and office minutes are in MH/19/15 under dates 3rd., 7th., 20th., and 23rd. May and 3rd. June, 1856.
36. 14 L.G.B. 1884-5 appx. 14 p.31.
37. Minute by Wodehouse 18th. June, 1889 MS. MH/19/21.
38. Statistics of expenditure from the grant may be found in the annual reports of the Poor Law Board and the Local Government Board. There is a convenient summary for 1847-59 in Purdy's article Journal of the Statistical Society of London Sept. 1860, though the 1853 figure is misprinted £10,000 in excess. A list of figures for the period 1879-1888 appears in 17 L.G.B. 1887-8 p.lxiii.
39. S.C. (Lords) 1888 Poor p.597.
40. MS. Ludlow union to P.L.B. 30th. Dec. 1852 (Sic. This is an error for 1851.) and various minutes thereon. Reply of 6th. Jan. 1852. MH 12/9957.
41. Doyle to S.C. (1862) Poor. p.97.
42. Symons. C.C.E. (P.U.S.) 1852-3 p.172.
43. 3 P.L.B. 1850 p.14.
44. MS. P.L.B. to officers. 20th. May, 1850. MH 19/14.
45. 23 P.L.B. 1870-1 p.xliii.
46. 1 L.G.B. 1871-2 appx. 12 p.21.
47. Letter of 15th. March, 1872 2 L.G.B. 1872-3 appx. 9. p.16.
48. 10 L.G.B. 1880)1 appx. 28 p.148.
49. 7 P.L.C. 1841 p.18; 12 P.L.C. 1846 p.8; 3 P.L.B. 1850 p.13; 6 L.G.B. 1876-7 appx. 77 p.326 and appx. 78 p.327.

- (Text p. 208 - 212)
50. 4 L.G.B. 1874-5 appx. 21 p.226.
51. 17 L.G.B. 1887-8 appx. 37 p.95.
52. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1847-8-9 p.247.
53. 21 P.L.B. 1868-9 appx. 20 p.97.
54. 1 L.G.B. 1871-2 appx. 32 p.235.
55. Symons. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1847-8-9 p.248.
56. Ruddock Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1847-8 p.29.
57. Rep.C.C.E. 1858 p.482.
58. 5 L.G.B. 1875-6 appx. 20 p.143-4.
59. 18 L.G.B. 1888-9 p.151.
60. Mins. C.C.E. (P.U.S.) 1855-6 p.96 quoting a teacher's letter.
61. ibid.
62. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1847-8 p.28.
63. 12 L.G.B. 1882-3 appx. 20 p.76.
64. S.C.(1862) p.97. Poor Relief.
65. P.F.(510) 1862. xlix(Part 1) p.25.
66. Official Circular Feb. 1848 No. 12 n.s.
67. 5 L.G.B. 1875-6 appx. 20 p.142.
68. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1853-4 p.127.
69. 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 appx. 18 p.262.
- 70 MS. letter (undated) Imeson to Chadwick. Chadwick Collection. Box marked "Education letters and Papers 1860-4."
71. 18 L.G.B. 1888-9 p.151.
72. 2 L.G.B. 1872-3 appx. 37 p.107.
73. 14 L.G.B. 1884-5 p.52.
74. Bowyer Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1856-7 p.107.
75. 5 L.G.B. 1875-6 appx. 22 p.173.

{Text p. 212 to p. 216 }

76. 2 L.G.B. 1872-3 appx. 37 p.107.
77. 7 L.G.B. 1877-8 appces. 89 & 90 pp.474,475.
78. 5 L.G.B. 1875-6 appces. 66 & 67 pp.372,<sup>3</sup>273.
79. See minute of P.L.C. re Lutterworth Union P.P.(148)  
I847 xlix.
80. MS. Register of officers and servants, Central London  
District School vol. I. May 1st., 1870.
81. MS. L.G.B. to Jane Watson. 28th. July, 1879 MH 27/II4.
82. 4 P.L.C. 1838 appx. B 4 p.162.
83. 1841 Reports p.392.
84. ibid. p.viii.
85. 2 P.L.C. 1836 appx. B 2 p.201.
86. S.C. (1837-8) Education. Evidence by Kay. p.7.
87. MS. Kay to Lewis. 23rd. Sept. 1837 MH 32/49.
88. Tufnell Journal of Education n.s. vol.II 1877 p.307.  
This was pointed out by F.Smith in Life of Kay  
Shuttleworth. 1923 p.48.
89. MS. P.L.C. to Kay. 24th. Aug., 1837. MH 32/49.
90. See 1877 reminiscence quoted op.cit. in note 88. (Smith)
91. Kay to Lewis from Glasgow. 7th. Sept. 1837 MH 32/49.
92. W.E.Hickson to P.L.C. 13th. Aug. 1836 MH 10/7.
93. MS. Kay to Lewis. 23rd. Sept. 1837 MH 32/49.
94. MS. Kay to Lewis. 11th. Nov. 1837 MH 32/49.
95. MS Kay to Lewis 23rd. Sept. 1837 MH 32/49.
96. MS. minutes P.L.C. 2nd. Oct., 1837 MH I.
97. ibid. 10th. July, 1838.
98. ibid. 3rd. July, 1838.
99. MS. "1st Quarterly Report on Metropolitan District"  
(Received) 14th. Jan. 1849. MH 32/50.

(Text p.216 to p.222 )

- I00. MS Kay to Lewis 6th. Sept. 1838 MH 32/50.
- I01. ibid. See also Kay to P.L.C. 22nd. Oct., 1838  
MH 32/50.
- I02. MS Kay to P.L.C. 16th. Feb., 1839 MH 32/50.
- I03. ibid. MS. Kay to P.L.C. 2nd. Jan. 1839 MH 32/50
- I04. MS report on metropolitan district. (Received) 14th.  
January, 1839. MH 32/50.
- I05. ibid.
- I06. See especially Adkins, T. History of St. John's  
College, Battersea. 1906.
- I07. Mins. C.C.E. 1841-2 p.40.
- I08. Mins. C.C.E. 1845 p.262.
- I09. Mins. C.C.E. 1846 p.27.
- I10. The minute is printed in Mins. C.C.E. Aug. and Dec.  
1846 p.7 ff.
- I11. P.P.(604) 1849 xlii.
- I12. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) p 1848-9-50 p.xiii.
- I13. Mins. C.C.E. 7th. Jan. 1850.
- I14. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1848-9-50 p.xi.
- I15. ibid.
- I16. ibid.p.xxx . See also P.P.(604) 1849 xlii. p.3.
- I17. P.P.(604) 1849 xlii p.3.
- I18. July, 7th. 1849 vol.xxix No.1491 p.421 col.3 to p.422  
col. I.
- I19. "Pauper Education and Kneller Hall." vol. xii 1849  
p.107-135.
- I20. W. Johnston: England as it is. London, 1851 (2vols.)  
vol.I p.340.
- I21. MS MH /19/15 under date 24th. Feb. 1852.
- I22. Ms. letter MH 19/15 11th.May, 1852.
- I23. MS Ruddock to C.C.E. 18th. Jan. 1849 MH 19/14.

(Text p.222 to p.226 )

- I24. MS. C.C.E. to P.L.B. 13th. Sept. 1851 MH 19/15.
- I25. P.P. (1957) 1854-5 x11 p.7-8.
- I26. ibid. p.16
- I27. ibid.
- I28. P.P.(338) 1854 x11
- I29. P.P.(321) 1854-5 x11 p.2.
- I30. Rep. C.C.E. 1860-I p.499-500.
- I31. ibid. p.500.
- I32. 2 L.G.B. 1872-3 appx. 35 p.91.
- I33. 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 appx. 20 p.281.
- I34. MS. P.L.B. to C.C.E. 7th. April 1866. MH 19/17.
- I35. MS. letter P.L.B. to C.C.E. 19th. May, 1880 MH 19/21.  
The returns cannot be relied upon after  
1884.
- I36. 6 L.G.B. 1876-7 appx. 77 p.326 and appx. 78 p.327.
- I37. Rev. J. Wood. Trans. N.A.P.S.S. 1882 p.341.
- I38. Departmental Committee 1896 vol.I p.37.
- I39. A.V.Judges "James Kay Shuttleworth" in Pioneers of English Education, 1952. p.122.
- I40. See his Four Periods p.289.
- I41. Mins. C.C.E. 1847-8 p.vi and viii.
- I42. MS. memo. by Lumley, June 7th. 1848. MH 19/14.
- I43. Ms. 19th. and 14th. May, 1848 and minute by Lumley on June 7th., 1848. MH 19/14.
- I44. Official Circular n.s. Nos. 18 & 19 Sept. and Oct. 1848 p.275-6.
- I45. ibid. p.274-5.
- I46. MS P.L.B. to C.C.E. 6th. July and 18th Aug. 1849  
MH 19/14.



(text p.227 to p.233)

- I47. Undated minute by Fleming post 14th. Feb. 1854  
MH 19/15 ; MS C.C.E. to P.L.B. 4th. July, 1862  
MH 19/16.
- I48. The correspondence leading to the compromise is  
in MH 19/15 under dates 5th. and 28th. Jan.; 1st.  
and 14th. Feb., 12th. and 22nd. Dec. 1854.
- I49. Tufnell. S.C.(1861) Poor. 4th. Report p.32-3.
- I50. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1855-6 p.62 and 63.
- I51. ibid.p.188; see also Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1856-7  
p.188.
- I52. 19 P.L.B. 1866-7 p.20.
- I53. Minute of 19th. Nov, 1874 signed "C.G." MS  
MH 19/20.
- I54. 21 P.L.B. 1868-9 appx. 21 p.102.
- I55. 17 L.G.B. 1887-8 appx. 37 p.95.
- I56. Minute by Lambert on MS. letter Tufnell to L.G.B.  
3rd. Feb. 1873. MH 19/19.
- I57. 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 appx. 19 p.276-7.
- I58. 6 L.G.B. 1876-7 appx. 4 p.5-6.
- I59. Letter dated 21st. Jan. 1890. 20 L.G.B. 1890-I appx.7.  
p.30,
- I60. 5 P.L.C. 1839. p.16.

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Notes on Chapter 10.

1. John Hill Burton: Benthamiana, 1843 p.392.
2. Tufnell. S.C. (1865) on construction of C.C.E. p.69.
3. Tufnell 21 P.L.B. 1868-9 appx. B 19 p.87.
4. Farnall 23 P.L.B. 1870-I appx. 14 p.150.
5. Miss Mason S.C. (Lords) 1888 on Poor p.429.

(Text p.233 to p.237 )

6. I84I Reports p.111.
7. ibid. p.189. (Mr. Young of Stepney,)
8. ibid pp.204-5.
9. 6 L.G.B. 1876-7 appx. 30 p.86.
10. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1853-4 p.110.
11. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1848-9-50 p.11.
12. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1847-8-9 p.10.
13. I84I Reports. p.347.
14. I84I Reports p.37.
15. See for example J.C. Symons District Farm Schools for Parochial Unions? 1850 and Anonymous ("The workhouse master") The industrial training of pauper children in the Gulltross Union, 1850. The first was in fact an officially-issued document. See MS. letter Bowyer to P.L.B. 5th. Aug., 1863 MH 32/108. See also Mins.C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1850-I-2 p.164ff.
16. S.C. (1838) Poor Q.4452-5. See also I84I Reports p.117.
17. S.C. (1838) Poor Q.4401.
18. 4 P.L.C. 1838 p.60.
19. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1847-8-9 p.173.
20. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1847-8-9 p.145.
21. Rep.C.C.E. 1859-60 p.553.
22. Rep. C.C.E. 1858
23. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1853-4 p.132.
24. I84I Reports
25. I84I Reports p.106.
26. ibid. p.108
27. Mins. C.C.E. (P.U.S.) 1853-4 p.29.
28. I84I Reports. p.43.

- (Text p. 238 to p. 241)*
29. 1841 Reports p.43.
  30. 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 appx. 20 p.282.
  31. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1853-4 p.I31.
  32. 21 P.L.B. 1868-9 appx. 20 p.99.
  33. 11 L.G.B. 1881-2 appx. 30 p.III.
  34. 4 L.G.B. 1874-5 appx. 22p.240.
  35. Mins. (C,C,E.(P.U.S.) 1847-8 p.27.
  36. January 25th., 1849. 2 P.L.B. 1849 p.25-48.
  37. For the controversy between the departments see MS.  
letters under dates 14th. and 17th. Aug., 13th. Sept.,  
21st. Nov. and 4th. Dec. 1848 in MH 19/14.
  38. P.L.B. to Rochdale Union 3rd. March, 1849. Official  
Circular n.s. No.24 April 1849 p.57.
  39. 2 P.L.B. 1849. p.I3.
  40. Rep.C.C.E. 1858. p.483.
  41. 20 P.L.B. 1867-8 appx. 27 p.I40.
  42. Holgate 9 L.G.B. 1879-80 appx. 43 p.216.
  43. 4 L.G.B. 1874-5 appx. 20 p.200.
  44. "Christmas in Workhouses." Metropolitan Official  
Advertiser Dec. 28th. 1889. p.832.
  45. 8 P.L.C. 1842 appx. B 3 p.I24.
  46. 20 L.G.B. 1890-I p.xc.
  - 47.46. 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 appx. 18 p.268.
  - 48 47. 1841 Reports p.I52.
  49. 20 P.L.B. 1867-8 appx. 26 p.I29 referring to a period  
sixteen years earlier.
  50. MS. report on Mrs. Adams 2nd.Aug. 1848; Ludlow Union to  
P.L.B. 10th. Aug. 1848 and 24th. Aug. 1848. MH 12/9957
  51. 1841 Reports p.II7. See also his recommendations on  
the Drouet case MS. to P.L.C. 29th. Aug. 1837 MH 32/49.
  52. 1841 Reports p.365.

(Text p.242 to p.24) )

53. 1841 Reports p.400.
54. ibid. p.402.
55. ibid p.150-1.
56. Minute of 30th. Nov. 1841. See also 7 P.L.C. 1841  
appx. A 3 p.72.
57. 7 P.L.C. 1841 appx. 43 p.75.
58. Official Circular 31st. Dec. 1844 p.202-5.
59. Official Circular 25th. Jan. 1843. Reply of 27th. May,  
1842 to Abingdon Union.
60. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1848-9-50 p.165.
61. Mrs. E. Sheppard Sunshine in the Workhouse 1858 p.84-6.
62. P.P.(363) 1873 lv.
63. Metropolitan Asylums Board: Training ship Exmouth.  
MS. Punishment Book 1901-7. (Record Room L.C.C.)
64. Eastern Daily Press 16th. Feb. 1898.
65. 1841 Reports p.122.
66. ibid. p.47
67. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1857-8 p.128.
68. Quoted by Tufnell 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 appx. 17 p.256.
69. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1857-8 p.129.
70. 8 L.G.B. 1878-9 appx. 42 p.154.
71. 9 L.G.B. 1879-80 appx. 43 p.217.
72. I P.L.C. 1835 appx. A 5. p.60. for the workhouse  
rules; 14 P.L.C. 1848 appx. AI art. 98 p.15 for  
the G.C.O.
73. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1847-8 p.12.
74. 1841 Reports p.42.
75. P.L.B. to C.C.E. 6th. Oct. 1848. Official Circular(n.s.)  
Nos. 18 & 19 Sept. & Oct. 1848 p.273-4. See also  
I P.L.B. 1848 appx. A 5. p.19.

(Text p.247 to p.251 )

76. S.C.(1862) Poor 2nd. Report p.Iv.
77. 5 L.G.B. 1875-6 appx. 21 p.161.
78. 6 L.G.B. 1876-7 appx. 30 p.83.
79. 9 L.G.B. 1879-80 appx. 41 p.241 .
80. Regulation xviii I P.L.C. 1835 appx. A 9.
- 81 2 P.L.C. 1836 p.477.
82. Official Circular (n.s.) 17; July & Aug. 1848 (July 26th. p.264.
83. MS. P.L.C. to Assistant Commissioners 4th. July, 1838 with printed form. MH 10/3.
84. Kay. S.C.(1838) Poor Q.4505 and 4506.
85. Art. 212 I4 P.L.C. 1848 appx. A 1. p.29.
86. 1841 Reports p.49.
87. ibid. p.361-3.
88. ibid.
89. 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 appx. 18 p.266-7.
90. Mins. C-C.E.(P.U.S.) 1850-I-2 p.226-7.
91. 20 P.L.B. 1867-8 p.129.
92. 1841 Reports p.130.
93. See A Manual of Writing; founded on Mulhauser's Method,  
1842.
94. 3 L.G. . 1873-4 appx. 18 p.263. and appx. 20 p.282.
95. 5 L.G.B. 1875-6 appx. 20 p.146.
96. 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 appx. 18 p.263.
97. 5 L.G.B. 1875-6 appx. 20 p.146.
98. The Uncommercial Traveller Ch. xxix p.340 (1875 Edn.)
- 99, Kay re Norwood 1841 Reports p.113
100. Instructional Letter to Norwood chaplain 1841 Reports p.122.

(Text p.251 to p.255)

- I01. 6 L.G.B. 1876-7 appx. 30 p.86.
- I02. 9 L.G.B. 1879-80 appx. 41 p.210.
- I03. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1855-6 p.113.
- I04. The chaplain's duties in this respect were pointed out in a circular to the assistant commissioners 12th. March, 1838. MH 10/2.
- I05. 1841 Reports p.vi.
- I06. Art. 212 & 114. 14 P.L.C. 1848 appx. AI .
- I07. 6 P.L.C. 1840 appx. BI Enclo. I. p.70.
- I08. 4 L.G.B. 1874-5 appx. 21 p.205.
- I09. Parker, W.J. An address to the teachers....of the Manchester moral and industrial training schools. 1846. Quoted Mins. C.C.E. 1845 p.405ff.
- I10. 4 L.G.B. 1874-5 appx. 22. p.234.
- I11. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1857-8 p.25.
- I12. 4 L.G.B. 1874-5 appx. 22 p.234.
- I13. 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 appx. 18 p.265-6.
- I14. 5 L.G.B. 1875-6 appx. 20 p.148.
- I15. loc.cit. note I09.
- I16. MS. Kay to P.L.C. 2nd. Jan. 1839. MH 32/50 (Kay).
- I17. 4 L.G.B. 1874-5 appx. 22 p.234.
- I18. ibid.
- I19. 9 L.G.B. 1879-80. appx. 43. -p.216.
- I20. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1857-8 p.40.
- I21. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1856-7 p.61.
- I22. 6th. Report 1899. (illustration).
- I23. See illustration in G.C.T. Bartley Schools for the People 1871 of children at Manwell marching into dinner to a band playing at the end of the dining hall.
- I24. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1856-7 p.61.

(Text p.255 to p.257 )

- I25. Mins C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1857-8 p.39.
- I26. ibid.
- I27. S.C. (1861) Poor. 2nd. Report p.91.
- I28. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1857-8 p.39.
- I29. 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 appx. 15. p.229.
- I30. 6 L.G.B. 1876-7 appx. 28 p. 71.
- I31. MS. Report 33786/ 1870 dated 10th. July, 1870  
MH 32/108.
- I32. See Journal of the Royal Society of Arts xviii (1870) pp.693-6; xix (1871) p.605-6, 626-7; xx (1872) pp.743-6 753-5 and 790; MS. Reports by Tufnell dated 10th. July, 1870 (33786/1870) and 22nd. July, 1871 (33169/1871) both in MH 32/108. For the further history of the displays see Hudson, D. and Luckhurst, K.W. The Royal Society of Arts 1754-1954. 1954. p.241-2 and plate 27 for a London Illustrated News drawing of the 1872 parade.
- I33. 17th. June, 1871.
- I34. 4 L.G.B. 1874-5 appx. 22 p.239.
- I35. 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 appx. 21 p.283.
- I36. 4 L.G.B. 1874-5 appx. 22 p.239.
- I37. L.Twining, a guardian, was the benefactor in this case. Workhouses and Pauperism 1898 p.135.
- I38. ibid.
- I39. II L.G.B. 1881-2. p.xxi.
- I40. W.E.Hickson S.C. (1838) Poor 40th. Report. p.7-8.
- I41. Aubin. 1841 Reports p.177.
- I42. 1841 Reports p.113.
- I43. The district school at Quatt provided a good example.
- I44. II P.L.B. 1858-9 p.14.
- I45. MS. correspondence leading to P.L.B. letter to C.C.E' 23rd. Dec. 1851 MH 19/15.
- I46. MS. Treasury to P.L.C. (Sic !) 18th. Aug. 1853.  
MH 19/15.

(Text p.257 to p.262)

- I47. See circular letter C.C.E. to inspectors 7th. Aug. 1855.  
C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1855-6 p.8. For P.L.B. apprehensions  
see MS. minutes upon this circular with C.C.E.  
letter 24th July, 1855 in MH 19/15.
- I48. 12th. March, 1867. 20 P.L.B. 1867-8 appx. 3 p.69.
- I49. 1841 Reports p.178.
- I50. F.D. Hill Economic Journal 1893 p.66.
- I51. 1 L.G.B. 1871-2 appx. 31 p.229.
- I52. Selections from the correspondence of the Local  
Government Board vol. I. p.224.
- I53. 8 L.G.B. 1878-9 p.xliv.
- I54. Edinburgh Review cxlii. 1875 p.96.
- I55. 2 P.L.C. 1836 appx. B2 p.201.
- I56. MS. to Chadwick 25th. July, 1879. Chadwick Collection  
Box marked "Education letters and papers 1860-4".
- I57. 2 L.G.B. 1872-3 appx. 37 p.108.
- I58. 6 L.G.B. 1876-7 appx. 30 p.79.
- I59. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1857-8 p.161-2.
- I60. Circular letter Spt 1857. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1857-8  
p.25.
- I61. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1857-8 p.193.
- I62. MS. Report 18months to Lady Day 1864. pp.11-12.  
MH 32/108. March 1864.
- I63. Royal Commission on Education 1861 .
- I64. 4 L.G.B. 1874-5 appx. 20 p.199.
- I65. 5 L.G.B. 1875-6 app. 22 p.174.
- I66. Order of 3rd. April 1878. 8 L.G.B. 1878-9 p.11x and  
appx. 13 p.32.
- I67. Rev. J. Wood. Trans N.A.P.S.S. 1882 p.339.
- I68. Mozley II L.G.B. 1881-2 appx. 29 p.104.
- I69. Clutterbuck gives figures for his district alone  
in 10 L.G.B. 1880-1 appx. 36 p.179, and II L.G.B.  
1881-2 appx. 30 p.113-128. Mozley gives data II L.G.B.  
1881-2 appx. 29. pp.104.



(Text p.262 to p.267 )

- I70. Rev. J.Wood. Trans.N.A.P.S.S. 1882 p.335-351.
- I71. I2 L.G.B. 1882-3 appx. 33 p.74.
- I72. Mozley 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 appx. 18 p.265.
- I73. ibid. p.264.
- I74. ibid.
- I75. Rev. J.Wood. Trans. N.A.P.S.S. 1882 p.341 citing  
Mozley's report for 1876.
- I76. Departmental Committee 1896 vol. I. pp.39-40 & 44-5.

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Notes to Chapter II.

- I. S.C.(Lords) 1888 Poor p.593.
- 2. For Villiers see W.O.Henderson History xxxvii 1952  
pp.25-39.
- 3. They are listed in S.& B.Webb English Poor Law History  
II 1 p.193 n.2..
- 4. ibid. pp.195-6.
- 5. Poor Law Amendment Act 1867. 30 & 31 Victoria cap. 106.
- 6. Representative Government 1861 (Everyman edition No.482  
p.357.) J.S.Mill's Utilitarianism, though written in  
1854, was also published in 1861.
- 7. S.C. (1862) Poor 3rd. Report p.37.
- 8. S.C. (1862) Poor 1st. Report p. 181.
- 9. 7 P.L.C. 1841 p.23 states that I,715,156 were not under  
the Poor Law Amendment Act at that date.
- 10. II P.L.C. 1845 p.18.
- 11. 9 P.L.C. 1843 p.12.
- 12. ibid. appx A 2 (1v) p.80.
- 13. ibid. appx. A 3 p.205.

(Text p.269 to p.274 )

14. Tate. The Parish Chest. p.297.
15. Nassau Senior quoted in S. & B. Webb The Parish and the County p.604.
16. 1841 Reports p.135.
17. Mrs. Jameson Communion of Labour. 1856 p.86-7.
18. S.C. (1861) Poor 2nd. Report p. 90.
19. L.Twining Workhouses and Pauperism 1898 p.129.  
referring to the Tunbridge Union, 1893-6.
20. Eastern Daily Press 22nd. Feb. 1898. (L.S.E.Collection  
45 p.330.)
21. 24 L.G.B. 1894-5 p.c.
22. Rev. T. Spencer (Chairman of the Bath Union) 2 P.L.C.  
1836 p.496.
23. 22 P.L.B. 1869-70 p.xv.
24. L.Twining Workhouses and Pauperism 1898 p.116.
25. T.B.Browne Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1855-6 p.90.
26. T.B.Browne 20 P.L.B. 1867-8 appx. 28 p.149.
27. ibid. p.48
28. Royal Commission (Education) 1861 Report vol. I. p.359.
29. Ruddock. Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1852-3. p.77.
30. MS Report March 1864 p.9. MH 32/108.
31. 9 L.G.B. 1879-80 appx. 40. p.200.
32. 6 L.G.B. 1876-7 appx. 31 p.90.
33. Browne 21 P.L.B. 1868-9 appx. 20 p.99.
34. L.Twining Workhouses and Pauperism 1898 p.142.
35. 1 P.L.C. 1835 p.25.
36. Ruddock Mins. C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1847-8 p.28; Tufnell 23 P.L.B  
1870-1 appx. 24 p.237; Browne 2 L.G.B. 1872-3 p.107  
appx. 37.

(Text p.274 to p.279)

37. L.Twining Workhouses and Pauperism 1898 pp.87 & 186.
38. 1 P.L.C. 1835 p.8 and 2 P.L.C. 1836 p.4.
- 39 £700 p.a. plus expenses. S.C. (1837) Poor Law amendment Act, 1st Report p.55.
40. 7 P.L.C. 1841 p.37.
- 41 13 P.L.C. 1847 appx. A 7 p.108.
42. Smith F. Life of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth 1923.
43. See his The moral...condition of the working classes in Manchester.
44. op. cit. in note 42. p.62.
45. P.P.(572) 1846.
46. MS.Kay to Commissioners 19th. Aug. 1837 MH 32/49. The accompanying draft circular is stamped 21st.Aug.1837.
47. S.E.Finer The Life and Times of Sir Edwin Chadwick 1952. p.151.
48. For Tufnell see Finer op.cit p.151; Boase Modern English Biography vol.vi 1921 pp.714-5; E. Bertha Tufnell The Family of Tufnell (privately printed 1924) pp.29-35; The Times 12th. July, 1886. p.10.
49. 2 P.L.C. 1836 p.342.
50. MS. Kay to Lewis 23rd. Sept. 1837 MH 32/49.
- 51 MS. 23rd. Sept 1837 MH 32/69.
52. Journal of the Society of Arts. xxiii 1875 p.610.
53. 1 P.L.B. 1848 p.5.
54. MS. Bishop of London to P.L.C. 17th.May 1841 MH 25/1.
55. MS. Kay to P.L.C. 21st May 1841 MH 25 / 1.
56. MS. P.L.C. to Kay 5th. June 1841 inviting him over for discussions. MH 25/1.
57. Mins. C.C.E. Subsequent to August 1840 pp.163ff.
58. Mins. C.C.E. 1843-4 pp.179 ff.

(Text p.279 to p.284 )

59. Mins C.C.E. 1845 pp. 386 ff.
60. Mins C.C.E. 1846 pp. 549ff.
61. Mins C.C.E. 1846 pp. 29-30.
62. Mins. C.C.E. 1846 p.25.
63. P.P.(103) 1851 x1111.
64. See MS. MH 32/108/Bowyer.
65. See testimonial by Kay Shuttleworth filed under Ist.  
Dec. 1847 MH 19/14.
66. See MS. note by authoress in Ist. Edn. of Children of  
the State 1868 by F.Davenport Hill. p.270. (L.S.E.)
67. Minute signed "C.G." dated June 4th. 1848 attached to  
MS. C.C.E. to P.L.B. 31st. May, 1848. MH 19/14.
68. Minute on MS. letter by Ruddock 24th. Aug. 1848 MH 19/14.
69. MS. P.L.B. to C.C.E. 30th. Dec. 1848, and Ruddock's  
explanation of 18th. Jan. 1849. MH 19/14.
70. See MS.correspondence for March 1849 chiefly underdates  
15th. and 30th. March, 1849. MH 19/14.
71. MS. Doyle to P.L.B. 6th. Jan. 1850; MS. P.L.B. to  
C.C.E. 7th. Jan 1850; C.C.E. to Symons 9th. Jan.  
1850. MH 19/14.
72. MS. MH 19/14 under dates 21st. Sept., 19th., 29th.,  
and 30th. Oct., 14th. Nov., and 11th. Dec., 1850.
73. MS. P.L.B. to C.C.E. 7th. Jan. 1851 MH 19/14.
74. Rep. C.C.E. 1862-3 p.xlvii.
75. S.C. on Construction of Committee of Council. Evidence  
by Tufnell p.67.
76. MS. C.C.E. to P.L.B. 29th. April; 27th. June; 16th. July,  
and P.L.B. to C.C.E. 24th. July, 1863. MH 19/17.
77. loc.cit. note 75. p.67.
78. ibid. p.68.
- 79.

(Text p.284 to p.291 )

79. For this controversy see Browne to P.L.B. 23rd. Sept., 10th. Nov., 1863 and 1st. April 1864; P.L.B. to Tufnell 7th. Oct., 1863; P.L.B. to Browne 18th. April, 1864; Minutes by Tufnell (14th. Nov. 1863) and Villiers (16th. Nov. 1863). MH 32/108 under Browne and Tufnell.
  80. MS. C.C.E. to P.L.B. 31st. March 1863. MH 19/17.
  81. MS. 13th. July, 1864 MH 32/108/Browne.
  82. MS. Browne to Treasury 13th. Aug. 1867 MH /" 32/108/ and P.L.B. to Treasury 19th. Nov. 1867.
  83. MS. Browne to P.L.B. 6th. Dec. 1867. MH 32/108/Browne. He had made the same point in a letter of 30th. Nov. 1866.
  84. Draft letter dated 14th. Dec. 1867 attached to MS. Browne to P.L.B. 6th. Dec. 1867 MH 32/108/Browne.
  85. See minute attached to MS. of Browne's report for 1869 MH 32/108/Browne.
  86. See minute of 10th. July 1871 signed "S.T.E." and undated minute by "J.S." attached to MS. of Browne's 1870 report. MH 32/108/Browne.
  87. Education in Poor Law Schools by managers of the Central London District School, 1900 p.5.
  88. MS. report by Bowyer dated March 1864 MH 32/108/Bowyer.
  89. Mins .C.C.E.(P.U.S.) 1856-7 p.199.
  90. MS. Bowyer to P.L.B. 19th. March 1864 MH 32/108/Bowyer.
  91. Tufnell MS. report for 1863 January, 1864. MH 32/108.
  92. Mins. C.C.E. 1847-8 p.34.
  93. Bowyer 5 L.G.B. 1875-6 appx. 19 p.141.
  94. ibid.
  95. Bowyer Rep. C.C.E. 1862-3. p.357.
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(Text p.274 to p.275)

Notes to Chapter I2.

- I. Tate The parish chest p.220.
2. ibid.
3. Dickens C. Oliver Twist CH. 2.
4. For these cases see Kay, J.P. in I84I Reports pp.79-81.
5. ibid. p.100.
6. 2 P.L.C. I836 appx. b I2 p.349.
7. Tufnell I84I Reports p.352.
8. Macleod ibid. pp.178-9
9. Christy (relieving officer Bethnal Green) ibid. pp.135-6.
10. ibid. p.136.
11. Kay ibid. p.94.
12. ibid. p.86.
13. 9 P.L.C. I843 p.31.
14. I84I Reports pp. 141-2 (N.B. In some printings p.141 is marked "144".)
15. ibid. p.142
16. ibid. p.92.
17. James Hatch ibid. p.96.
18. ibid.
19. ibid. p.95
20. MS. P.L.C. to City of London Union 13th. Jan. I838  
filed with "Poor Law Board Correspondence I837-57"  
L.C.C. Record Room.
21. M.Bowley Nassau Senior I937 p.258.
22. probably in spring of I836. The MS. is to be found in  
MH 32/48. It was later printed in I84I Reports pp.77 ff
23. I84I Reports. pp.127-200.
24. Royal Commission (Education) I86I vol.vi p.373 Q.3017.

(Text p 299-304)

25. II P.L.C. 1845 appx. A 3 pp.44-60. It became operative on 13th. March, 1845.
26. Lumley S.C. (1861) Poor 4th. Report p.66.
27. Reprinted p.vi of 1841 Reports
28. MS. to P.L.C. 12th. Oct. 1844 MH 32/71.
29. MS. to P.L.C. 10th. May, 1845 MH 32/71.
30. II P.L.C. 1845 appx. A 3. pp.44-60.
31. The L.C.C. Record Room contains bundles of pauper apprentice indentures for many unions up to 1928.
32. S.C.(Lords) 1888 Poor p.594.
33. Departmental Committee 1896 vol.I. p.60.
34. II L.G.B. 1881-2 appx. 29 p.109.
35. Departmental Committee 1896 vol. I pp.59-60.
36. See circular letter 14th. Oct. 1851. 4 P.L.B. 1851 appx. 4a. pp.29-32.
37. B.Fleming 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 ppxxxiv-xxxv.
38. Guardians could bind their successors in office by signing an apprentice's indenture; they were not empowered to do this in the case of a hiring contract. Furthermore a child in receipt of weekly wages was entirely free of the guardians' control. S.C. (1861) Poor. 4th. Report pp.66-7.
39. 2 P.L.C. 1836 appx. B 20. p.414.
40. P.L.C. Confidential Abstract of Correspondence 1842 p.312. 15th. Sept. 1842.
- 41 ibid. 6th. Aug. 1842. pp.270-1.
42. Official Circular (n.s.) No.36 April 1850. 17th. Dec. 1849.
43. Official Circular (n.s.) No. 50 p.92. P.L.B. to Wakefield Union 1st. March 1851.
44. P.L.C. to Leicester Union 16th. Dec. 1844. Abstract of Correspondence Jan.-Dec. 1844 p.123.
45. S.C. (1861) Poor 4th. Report p.119.
46. Irvine. S.C. (1861) Poor p.156.

(Text p.304 to p.310 )

47. 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 appx. 22 p.340.
48. ibid. p.329.
49. H.L.Synnott "Little Paupers" Contemporary Review xxiv  
Nov. 1874 p.960.
50. 3 L.G.B. 1873-4 appx. 22 p.331.
51. 5 L.G.B. 1875-6 appx. 20 p.152.
52. L.Twining Workhouses and Pauperism 1898 p.144.
53. 5 L.G.B. 1875-6 appx. 22 p.170.
54. I L.G.B. 1871-2 appx. 34 p.243.
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